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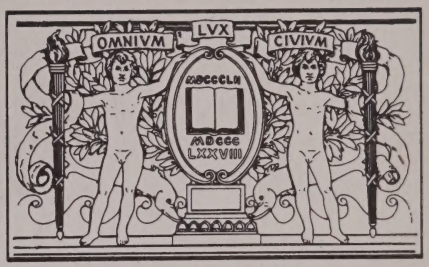

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VOL. LXXIV.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CLIV.

JANUARY, 1852.

ART. I. — *The English Language.* By ROBERT GORDON LATHAM, M. D., F. R. S., &c. Third edition, revised and greatly enlarged. London: Taylor, Walton, & Maberly. 1850. 8vo. pp. 609.

THIS work, which has now been some ten years before the public, bids fair to produce a revolution in the mode of treating English Grammar. Lowth and Murray, — the latter an American by birth, — had reduced the grammar of our language to a sort of technical system, which had been very generally received. Harris had enriched it with philosophical elucidations and reflections. All these works were founded chiefly on classical ideas and classical models. Of real genial additions to English philology, little had been made since Johnson's Dictionary and Horne Tooke's *Επεα Πτεροεντα*. New grammars had been published in England and in this country; but they were, for the most part, but amplifications, emendations, repetitions, or abridgments of Lowth and Lindley Murray. The nearest approximation to real progress had been made in the Practical and Philosophical Grammar of our own Webster; which, however, followed too zealously the leading of Horne Tooke, and, withal, was somewhat too highly tinctured by that spirit of radical and reckless innovation which was always the author's besetting sin. After the appearance of Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, the philological study of the Teutonic languages

received a new impetus, and assumed a more comprehensive and philosophical form. The work of Latham, though in many ways indebted to Grimm's, both as its exciting cause and its abundant source, is the most original and scholarlike contribution to the department of English philology which has yet been made. It was not intended as a practical school grammar, but to supply the deficiencies of such grammars, or to be used as a substitute for them, by scholars whose linguistic acquirements, in other directions, might fit them to relish its investigations, and profit by them. Considered as a complete grammar of the English language, — although this last edition is greatly superior to its predecessors, — it is yet exceedingly defective in details, ill-digested, and ill-arranged. Considered as an independent contribution to English grammar, it is a manly, learned, and most valuable work.

It is distributed into seven parts : — 1 and 2. Origin, History, and Analysis of the English Language. 3. Phonology, including Orthoëpy and Orthography. 4. Etymology, grammatical and comparative. 5. Syntax. 6. Prosody. 7. Dialects of the English Language. The sixth and seventh parts are mere addenda.

In the historical view, the Indo-European tribe, or family of languages, is assumed as the widest field of observation. This is divided into five stocks, — the Iranian, the Sarmatian, the Classical, the Gothic, and the Celtic. In regard to the Celtic, notwithstanding Dr. Prichard's arguments in favor of the eastern origin of the Celtic nations, Latham considers its claims of affinity with the Indo-European family as extremely doubtful.

The Gothic stock is divided into two branches, — the Scandinavian and the Teutonic ; and the Teutonic branch into three divisions, — the Moeso-Gothic, the high Germanic, and the low Germanic. Interesting specimens and illustrations are given of the languages of the different stocks, branches, and divisions. The English and Anglo-Saxon are low Germanic. The general historical relations of the English to other divisions and branches of the Gothic stock are given, and especially to the Moeso-Gothic and the Frisian. The relations of the English to the Anglo-Saxon, and its gradual development therefrom, are next traced out more in

detail; the whole followed by some illustrations of English dialects.

Professor Latham is not disposed to ascribe to the Norman conquest any great influence in modifying the Anglo-Saxon.

"What the present language of England would have been, had the Norman Conquest never taken place, the analogy of Holland, Denmark, and of many other countries, enables us to determine. It would have been much as it is at present. What it would have been had the Saxon conquest never taken place, is a question wherein there is far more speculation. Of France, of Italy, of Wallachia, and of the Spanish peninsula, the analogies all point the same way. They indicate that the original Celtic would have been superseded by the Latin of the conquerors;" as it was superseded, we may add, by the Saxon of its Teutonic conquerors.

Professor Latham has spoken more distinctly and sensibly upon the tendencies of the English language to future development than grammarians have generally condescended, or dared, to do.

"The present tendencies of the English may be determined by observation; and as most of them will be noticed in the etymological part of this volume, the few here indicated must be looked upon as illustrations only.

"1. The distinction between the subjunctive and indicative mood is likely to pass away. We verify this by the very genetal tendency to say *If it is*, and *If he speaks*, for *If it be*, and *If he speak*."

How much better is such a plain, historical view, than the snarling discussions of some grammarians in regard to the English subjunctive, or the attenuated theories of contingency, and the absolute dogmas of Mr. Harrison,* which seem to take for granted, that old fluctuations have just now entirely ceased, and that the present use of the subjunctive is at length crystallized around the nucleus of an abstract and permanent "principle."

"2. The distinction (as far as it goes) between the participle passive and the past tense is likely to pass away. We verify this by the tendency to say *It is broke* and *He is smote*, for *It is broken* and *He is smitten.*

---

* *Rise, Progress, and Present State of the English Language*, by Rev. Matthew Harrison. 1850.

3. "Of the double forms, *sung* and *sang*, *drank* and *drunk*, &c. &c., one only will be permanent."

How Mr. Harrison must be *horrified*, if he should live to see and hear these two last tendencies in full development and realization!

Prof. Latham gives the following, among others, as "mere variations of the same general statement," which he considers as indicating a universal and fundamental principle in language.

"(1.) The earlier the stage of a given language, the greater the amount of its inflectional forms, and the later the stage of a given language, the smaller the amount of them. (2.) As languages become modern, they substitute prepositions and auxiliary verbs for cases and tenses. The reverse never takes place."

Such statements, taken in their absolute form, convey, we are compelled to think, a very questionable doctrine. Prof. Latham himself incidentally admits, a little further on, that "the grammar of the New German is complex, compared not only with the Old High German, but with the Moeso-Gothic." Thus "the reverse" seems once to have taken place.

In a paper presented to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1847, and referred to in a former number of this Review, Bunsen has demonstrated the philosophical absurdity of languages beginning in an inflectional state. All prefixes and suffixes and inflectional syllables must originally have been separate, significant words. He has sustained his speculative theory by the fact that the oldest languages, such as the Chinese and the old Egyptian, retain a greater or less approximation to the original syllabic character. Latham himself fully recognizes this view in another place, where, arguing against the Indo-European character of the Celtic, he says, — "The Celtic became detached from *the mother-tongue anterior to the evolution of the declension of nouns*, whereas the Gothic, Slavonic, Classical, and Iranian languages all separated *subsequent* [subsequently ?] *to that stage*."

Prof. Latham probably had in view, however, ancient and modern languages in a more restricted sense, — the cases where a distinct modern language has been, as a known historical fact, developed out of one more ancient, — in short,

the tendencies of those languages which, having once reached a full inflectional development, have been broken up, to be reconstructed in new forms. In such cases, the tendency of languages to retrace the steps by which they originally advanced, and to return to the simpler grammar of primitive times, is certainly a remarkable, as it is in general an undoubted, fact.

The third part of this Grammar, on the Phonology of the English language, is a most valuable, and in some respects, a highly original, contribution to this branch of English grammatical science, — a branch which has usually been almost as much neglected as that of the historical relations of the language. We cannot follow the author through the details of this part; but as we differ from him and his school in several important particulars, we shall take leave to present our own views in an independent form.

We venture to propose, without further apology, a system of consonant and vowel sounds for the English, and in general for the Teutonic and Pelasgic languages, in the accompanying tabular form. (See next page.)

The consonant system and the vowel system are to be conceived as having each its independent origin; as starting from opposite poles, as it were, and meeting each other in certain points of contact; and not as being continuously developed one from the other. They must, therefore, be treated separately.

We subjoin, first, the following notes and explanations of the system of consonants.

1. The progress in a vertical direction through any part of the table corresponds, step by step, with the transition through the organs, from one extreme to the other, between the throat and the lips.

2. The progress from left to right is, throughout, from surd consonants, through an increasing degree of vocalization, until we reach the transition to pure vowel sounds.

3. We have proposed to give, in our table, a separate representation to all those consonant sounds, and to those only, which are *simple*, that is, which are produced with a *single* effort of the organs, and, when protracted, *retain unchanged the same character throughout their whole extent.*

4. Although *p* and *b* are proper labials, their aspirates *ph*

TABULAR ALPHABET.

CONSONANT SYSTEM.

Mutes.

Surds.

ORGANS.	Lene.	Aspirate.
Lingual. Gutturo-palatal		kh
	k	
Palatal		ch
	c	sh
Dento-palatal		s
Dental	t	th
Labio-dental		ph
Labial	p	

Sonants.

Lene.	Aspirate.
	gh
g	
	jh
j	zh
	z
d	dh
	bh
b	

Liquids.

	Lene.	Aspirate.
Palatal	l	th
	r	rh
Nasal.	ng	nhg
	n	nh
		°
	m	mh
		°

Semi-vowels.

Lene.	Aspirate.
y	ch & jh
,	h
ri	—
—	—
w	wh

VOWEL SYSTEMS.

Fundamental.	Alphabetical.	Usual Variations.
i	i	i
		é
	e	è
ŭ		ŭ ă
a	a	ü a
		â
	o	o
u	u	u

k = English *k*.
kh = German *ch* in *ach*, or Greek *Chi*.
g = English *g* in *go*.
gh = German *g* in *sage*.
ch = German *ch* in *ich*.
jh = German *g* in *siege*.

c = Italian *c* in *ciò*, or English *ch* in *chin*.
sh = English *sh* in *she*, or French *ch* in *chose*.
j = English *j*, or soft *g*.
zh = French *j*, or English *z* in *azure*.
s = English *s* in *so*.
z = English *z* in *zeal*.

t = English *t* in *tin*.
th = English *th* in *thin*, or Greek *Theta*.
d = English *d* in *dip*.
dh = English *th* in *this*, or Greek *Delta*.
p = English *p*.
ph = English *f*, or *ph*, or Greek *Phi*.

b = English *b*.
bh = English *v*, or Greek *Beta*.
l = English *l*.
lh = Welsh *ll*.
r = English *r* in *roar*.
ng = English *ng* in *hang*.
nhg = French nasal in *enfant*.
n = English *n* in *no*.
m = English *m* in *me*.
y = English *y* in *yes*.
, = Greek soft breathing.
h = English *h* in *hat*, or Gr. aspirate ‹
ri = Sanscrit vowel *r*.
w = English *w* in *wit*.
wh = English *wh* in *whit*.
rh = Greek *Rho*, or *r* doubled or rolled?
nh and mh may be considered problematical.
i = *i* in *machine*; shorter in *infinity*.

é = *é fermé*, or *a* in *fate*; shorter in *fatal* and in *fatality*.
è = French *è* in *père*, or English in *there?* shorter in *berry, bed, bet*.
ă = *a* in *hat*; longer in *had, Harry, hairy? hair?*
a = Italian *a*, or *a* in *father*, partial; shorter in *partiality, America*.
å = *a* in *fall*, or *o* in *nor*; shorter in *lost, wasp, was, not*.
o = *o* in *note*; shorter in *notice*, notorious, *wholly? most?*
u = *u* in *rule*, or *oo* in *fool*; short in *bull, foot*.
ü = French *u*, connecting *u* with *i*; not found in English.
ŭ = English *u* in *but, bud, burst*; French *e* in *me*; Hebrew *Sheva*.

and *bh* (or *f* and *v*) have, in actual utterance, become labio-dentals; but this is merely a result of accommodation for greater facility in articulating them. In Spanish and German, these sounds are still produced by many persons between the lips. It may be added, that *kh* and *gh* are easily made more perfectly guttural than their corresponding *lenes*.

5. *Q* = *k*, is followed only by *u*, and either requires the *u*, as in French and Spanish, to be silent, or, as generally in English and German, reduces the *u* or *oo* to a semivowel equivalent to *w*. In Anglo-Saxon, it was represented by *c* = *k*, followed by *w*.

6. The consonants, it will be perceived, are distributed into four classes, called surds, sonants, liquids, and semivowels. Each of these four classes is divided into two branches, which we have denominated *lenes* and *aspirates*. By *lene*, we mean a determinate consonant sound defined by a simple contact or particular position of the organs; and by *aspirate* we mean, in each case, the result of bringing the organs nearly into the same contact or position, and then continuing to expel the breath for an indefinite length of time. In every case, the aspirate combines a breathing with its corresponding lene, and the relation of the lene to the aspirate is the same throughout the table; so that, *k* to *kh*, as *g* to *gh*, as *d* to *dh*, as *b* to *bh*, as *w* to *wh*, &c.

7. The aspirates are all, in their nature, continuous; and of the surds and sonants, the lenes are all explosive, or incapable of prolongation. From this characteristic, these two classes may be put under the common term *mutes*.

8. The term *surd* is applied to those mutes which can only be whispered, and are sometimes called *sharp; sonant* to those which are accompanied with tone or voice, and are sometimes called *flat.*

9. Of the *liquids*, the lenes as well as the aspirates are continuous; and this arises from the peculiar characteristic which distinguishes them as a class from all other consonants, and to which we would direct special attention; namely, that while, like the lene mutes, they are defined by a perfect contact of the organs, and are, therefore, not aspirates, they allow the breath to *flow* easily through some other passage, as through the nose in the case of the *nasal* liquids, or around the points of contact in the case of the *palatals.*

10. The semi-vowels (lene) may be described as a sort of fulcrum, or pivot of articulation, in passing from the English *e* (or *i* short) to any closely subjoined vowel sound, in the case of *y;* and from *u* or *oo* to any such vowel sound, in the case of *w.* Thus, in *yarn, wit,* we may give first the full sounds *ee-'arn, oo-'it,* where, between the initial vowel sound *ee, oo,* and the following vowel sounds, the organs pass through a certain momentary but definite position, which gives the character of a consonant sound, and which we have denominated a fulcrum or pivot. If now the vowel part, the *ee* or *oo*-sound, be reduced to a minimum, and we begin immediately upon this pivot or fulcrum, and pronounce *yard, wit,* we shall have the *y* and *w* representing sounds of a proper consonant character. These sounds may be, etymologically and historically, the result of thus minimizing a vowel sound, and may then be called *semi-consonants;* or they may be the result of reducing a full consonant sound, as *kh, g, gh,* or *l,* for example, to this mere pivot or fulcrum, and then be called semi-vowels, which only comes to the same thing. They are, in short, the points of contact between the consonant and vocal systems.

11. Each of the aspirates might have been represented by a single character; but, as *h* represents a simple breathing or aspiration, and as all the aspirates are similarly combined with such a breathing, and those of them which are used in English are generally so represented, we have chosen to represent them all as combined with *h.* We do not mean by this to intimate that the sound of *h* is *added* to the re-

spective *lenes* — for in that case the aspirates would not be simple sounds — but that it is combined with them throughout their whole extent. They are *simple*, therefore, under our definition; and, if in any sense compound, they are so by a sort of chemical composition, in distinction from a mechanical aggregate or mixture. *Kh*, for example, is not equal to $k+h$, but to $k \times h$. This we consider a true aspiration; while the sound of *h*, added after a consonant, no more renders that consonant a true aspirate, than it does the following consonant or vowel. We do not doubt there are such aspirates ("so called") in other languages, as in the Sanscrit, for example; but we here speak of the strict propriety of the term.

12. The *ch* (in the German *ich*) and *jh* (*g* in the German *siege*) are more palatal than their corresponding lenes *k* and *g*, and thus constitute a transition to the surd and sonant palatals, respectively, of the next set. In their most attenuated and softened form, they may also become mere aspirates of the semi-vowel *y*.

13. *C* (*ch* in *chin*) is manifestly a simple elementary consonant, and a *lene*. It is produced by placing a certain portion of the tongue near the tip, but not the tip itself, against a certain part of the palate, and, after pressure, suddenly withdrawing it with a violent emission of breath. It has no *t*-sound in its composition, for neither the tip of the tongue nor the teeth are used in its production. Neither does it end in an *sh*-sound, for, in that case, it could be prolonged *ad libitum*, which the true *c* (*ch* English) cannot be. Moreover, it does not begin with any one sound, and end with another, but is the same simple sound throughout its whole extent.

It may be shown by a similar experiment, and proof, that *j* is a simple elementary sound. It bears the same relation to *c* (*ch*) that *g* does to *k*, or any other lene sonant to its corresponding lene surd.

14. *Sh* is not the aspirate of *s*, is not related to *s* as *th* to *t*, *ph* to *p*, &c., as any one may ascertain by a simple experiment of pronunciation. *S* is more dental than palatal; *sh* is not dental at all. But *sh* is related to *c* (*ch*) precisely as any other aspirate to its lene; that is, if you place the organs as if to produce *c*, but instead of bringing them into perfect

contact, retain a slight passage between for the constant egress of the breath, modifying it, as it goes out, by this specific approximation of the organs to a state of contact, you will have a perfect *sh*.

Zh is plainly related to *j*, as *sh* to *c* (*ch*.)

The *s* and *z*, as sibilants, are peculiar, but, in respect to the *organs* employed in their articulation, they furnish a transition between the palatal *c*, &c., and the dentals *t*, &c.; and in respect to the *mode* of their articulation, they are to be reckoned among the aspirates rather than the lenes. Their lenes would be a certain unpronounceable medium between *c* and *t*, and between *j* and *d* respectively.

16. Of the aspirated liquids, we have an illustration of the *lh* in the Welsh *ll*; and perhaps of the *rh* in the Greek ϱ; the double, or rolled, *r* may represent it in any language. The *nh* and *mh* may be left as hypothetical.

17. *Ng* represents a simple, elementary, and a liquid sound, combining a nasal and a palatal character, or intermediate between the two, being produced in the endeavor to pronounce an *n*, by pressing the middle of the tongue against the palate. *Nhg* (or *ngh*) the so-called French nasal, is related to *ng* as any other aspirate to its lene; that is, it is accompanied with an emission of the breath, while the organs are in near approximation to the specific contact which characterizes *ng*.

18. The position of *h* we should not insist upon. It either belongs among the semi-vowels, or is to be rejected altogether from both vowels and consonants, as a mere breathing — a *tertium quid, sui generis*.

19. As to *wh*, it has generally been maintained by modern English grammarians that it is pronounced *hw* (i. e. *hoo*), as it was written by the Anglo-Saxons. But we doubt not that if a man will observe carefully for himself how, and with what difference, he pronounces *wit* and *whit*, he will be satisfied that the *h* is really pronounced neither before nor after the *w*, but in the same sort of constant combination with it, which characterizes any other aspirate as connected with its lene. Whether the *h*, therefore, should be printed before or after the *w*, is a matter of indifference, except so far as consistency in the notation of a given alphabet is concerned. *Wh* is certainly the most consistent with the rest of the English alphabet.

20. As to the positions of the several liquids and semi-vowels; that *m* is labial, and *n* dental, and both nasal, there can be no doubt; there can be as little doubt that *r* and *l* are palatals; and we have shown that *ng* is intermediate. In regard to the positions of the *r* and the *l*, in relation to each other, there might be some question. The *r* is, perhaps, in actual ordinary pronunciation, as deeply palatal as *l*, some may think it should be more so. We confess, that, in settling their relative place, we have been guided very much by what is observed as the natural course of etymological change. It is well known, that the gutturo-palatal and palatal mutes frequently pass into *l* (or what is called liquid *l* or *li*) and the converse. Thus, take the modern correspondents of the Latin *oculus;* Ital. *occhio*, Sp. *ojo*, A. S. *eage*, Germ. *auge*, Fr. *oeil*, Eng. *eye*. Observe, also, that the Spanish *jota* = *kh* is regularly substituted for the liquid *l*, as Latin *filia*, Fr. *fille*, Sp. *hija;* Lat. *folium*, Fr. *feuille*, Sp. *hoja*, &c. Also, *r* is a frequent etymological correspondent of *s*, as *was*, *were*, and (Germ.) *war*, *wäre;* (Germ.) *Eisen*, *iron;* *honos*, *honor*, &c. We may add, while it occurs, that *h*, also, often corresponds to *s*, as ἕξ, *sex;* ἑπτα, *septem;* ἕδομαι, *sedeo*, &c. That *y* and *w* are in their proper positions, is clear without further remark.

21. We have just referred to liquid *l*, so called. This, and the liquid n (Sp. ñ,) are sounds well known in the Romance languages; but as they are really compound sounds, we have not inserted them in our table. Every other lene consonant is susceptible of the same composition, which consists in suffixing the semi-vowel *y*-sound so closely to the consonant, that both are articulated in the same syllable, and by one continuous effort of the organs. Yet the result is not a simple sound, for it is not the same throughout its whole extent. For instance, while we may pronounce the Latin *filia* and *Allemania* thus, *fil-ya*, *Alleman-ya*, we must pronounce, in the French, *fille* and *Allemagne*, so as to include all the sounds of the Latin words, except the final *a*, so that the *y*-sound is to be joined in the same syllable with the *l* and *n*, thus producing what are called *liquid l* and *n*.

22. It might, indeed, be thought that *sh* and *zh* arise from this sort of composition with *s* and *z;* when we consider such combinations as *mission*, *nation*, *azure*, *glazier*, &c., in which

the *s* and *z* sounds, followed immediately by the sound of the semi-vowel *y*, are respectively pronounced very nearly, if not exactly, like *sh* and *zh*. But we have the authority of all the leading grammarians, as well as our own decided judgment, in favor of considering them as simple elementary sounds.

The *c* (*ch* in *chin*) and *j* may be brought into similar approximations with *t* and *d*, followed by the sound of the semi-vowel *y*, as in *question*, *mixture*, *soldier*, *assiduous*, &c. This is a remarkable phenomenon for the consideration of those who make *c* and *j* compounds respectively of *tsh* and *dzh*. But, if *c* and *j* are not simple sounds, no more are *sh* and *zh*; and to represent the *c* (*ch* in *chin*) and the *j* as equivalent to *tsy* and *dzy*, respectively, looks very odd, at the same time that the intermediate *s* and *z* are manifestly superfluous. Meanwhile, in view of the approximations, above described, to a combination with a *y*-sound, this whole series of palatal mutes may be held of doubtful simplicity.

23. We will add, that while our whole consonant system is arranged on quite different principles from Professor Latham's, we are in direct antithesis with him in two principal points; that is to say, in regard to the true character (1) of aspirates in general, which he makes *k*+*h*, &c., or mere nondescripts and pseudonymes; (2) of the sounds of *c* (*ch* in *chin*) and *j*, which he makes compounds of *tsh* and *dzh*. Although it would be quite as natural and correct, in accordance with the German notation, to make the *sh*-sound a compound of *s* and *c* (or *ch*) and represent it by *sch*. We differ, also, in regard to the true relations of *sh*, *zh*, and *wh* in the system.

24. The table we have given will furnish a very convenient clue to the labyrinth of etymological changes. The interchange or transition of sounds, horizontally, is very common, and is always easy and natural, involving only different modifications in the use of the same organs or organical parts. And we see that, in reference to the organs, there are only four full sets of sounds, and parts of a fifth. The interchange or transition vertically, being from organ to organ, is less easy and common, but by no means infrequent or unnatural. When it occurs, it takes place gradually. A sound, for example, is brought forward little by little from the throat to the pa-

late, thus becoming easier and less harsh; then further and further along the palate to the teeth; and the converse. Thus *k* becomes *c*, *sh*, *s*, *th*, as in passing from the Greek to the Italian, French, English, and Spanish, in the name of *Cicero*; and from the Anglo-Saxon to the English, in *ceorl*, *cild*, *circ*, *cider*, &c. Thus *s* is interchanged with *t*, *es* = *it*, *das* = *that*, *aus* = *out*, *aussöhnen* = *atone*, *loveth* = *loves*. The interchange between the *p* and *t* sounds is comparatively rare; yet there are some instances, as τεσσαρες = πεσσυρες.

25. The liquids, from their nature, easily run into each other, especially the *l* and *r*, and the *m*, *n*, and *ng*. The semi-vowel *y* has a direct etymological relation, not only with the whole gutturo-palatal and palatal class of consonants, but also with those at the other extreme, — the labials; the Greek ὑ furnishing the type at once for the letter *y* and the letter *v* = *bh*, which passes into the semi-vowel *w*. Also, it is well known that not only the semi-vowel *y*, but the lene gutturo-palatal *g*, is etymologically interchangeable with *w*. Moreover, in English, the *u* long has a constant tendency to take a *y* sound before it. And *u* being the deepest, and *i* (or *e*) the most superficial of the vowel sounds, they seem to have interchanged their places in the table, when compared with the organic relations of their corresponding consonant sounds. Thus, as we approach the vowels, we find the consonants more and more easily running into one another, until the extremes are brought immediately together.

26. We should, of course, expect the vowels to exhibit a still more liquid or *fluent* character. Such we find to be the fact; so that vowels can guide us but a very short distance in etymological pursuits; and, in a general view, they are entirely neglected, as unimportant, or at least unessential elements. Not only do the vowel system and the vowel sounds of different languages differ, — so that scarcely any vowel sound of one language finds an exact equivalent in any other, — but the vowel sounds of the same language are in a state of continual flux. Variations and diversities are perceptible, not only in comparing the usage of different ages and distant localities, but during the lifetime of the same generation, and in the mouth of almost every different individual. There is, naturally, no definite number of vowel sounds, either in respect to quality or quantity. All distinctions are temporary and

arbitrary. Voice is concrete; consonants or articulations are discrete or numeral quantities. The different kinds of vowels, which men have endeavored to fix by different characters, pass into each other by infinitesimal gradations; and the different lengths of each may be varied imperceptibly, from the most sudden explosion to the most protracted drawl which the breath will allow.

27. Such being the uncertain and unstable character of vowel sounds, we shall refrain from attempting a thorough analysis and discussion of them; and that the more readily, as we have extended our remarks upon the consonants to such an unexpected length.

28. The vowel system is not so much a continuation as a pendant, or rather an opposite pole, to the consonant system; the semi-vowels occupying the point of indifference. It is included in the same range, with respect to the part of the mouth at which each vocal sound receives its peculiar modification from the throat outward to the lips, only in an order the reverse of that of the corresponding consonant system. The sound of *a* (as in *ah*) may be considered the fountain of vocalization, as it is the first letter of all alphabets. It is developed upwards and outwards to the extreme of attenuation in *i* (*ee*), and downwards and inwards to the extreme of depth in *u* (*oo*.) *I* is the most slender and superficial; *u* the most internal and guttural of all vowel sounds. These are the three fundamental vowels; precisely the three which, and which alone, have characters specially corresponding to them in the alphabets of many languages, as the Hebrew and the old Gothic.

29. In the transition from *a* to *i*, the sound of *e* (or our *a* in *fate*) is naturally produced and made a prominent resting place. In the transition from *a* to *u*, the sound of *o* is naturally produced, and becomes another intermediate resting place. These are the five vowel characters, and represent the five primary vowel sounds recognized in modern European languages. This series, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, (as just described with their Continental sounds) form a natural sequence of sounds, and may be easily produced in order, by a continual progressive modification, in a sort of *yawn*, beginning at *i*, the slenderest and most superficial, and terminating at *u*, the deepest and most guttural.

30. All other vowel sounds are only further modifications, intermediations, combinations, or mixtures of some of these five. They may be modifications, for example, broader or more slender, as *â* in *all* (or *ô* in *nor*) compared with *o* in *old*. They may be minor points of transition, more or less definitely fixed in some particular time and place, as *ă* in *fat*, intermediate between *a* and *e*. The *i* in *pine* is a mixture or conjoining of the two sounds *a* and *e*, or *a* and *i*. The *e* may be divided into two kinds; the more close and acute *ē*, as it approximates *i*; and the more open and flat *è*, as it approximates *ă* in *fat*. The former corresponds to our *ā* in *fate*, the latter nearly to our *ĕ* in *bell*, somewhat protracted. The French *ü* is not so much intermediate between *i* and *u*, as rather a combination of both. Like the Greek *ὐ*, it serves to connect the two extremes, and thus brings the vowel sounds into a continuous circle.

We have, therefore, three schemes or systems of vowel sounds, — (1) the fundamental *i*, *a*, *u*; (2) the *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, for which we have separate letters; (3) the more extended *i*, *é*, *è*, *ă*, *a*, *â*, *o*, *u*, *ü*, in which the circle is completed.

31. We take no notice here of mere differences of *quantity*, as the *ŏ* in *not*, which is the short sound of *â* or of *ô* in *nor*; or the *ĭ* in *fit*, which is the short sound of *i* in *machine*, &c. We may remark, however, that, in English, all the so-called short vowels have a certain peculiar explosive character, which is hardly found in other languages.

32. The *ŭ* in *but*, *grunt*, final in the *e* of the French *me*, &c., is the most imperfect, indifferent, and indefinable of all the vowel sounds. It might be considered as a sort of semi-vowel corresponding to the *a*. See *a* final in *Cuba* = *Cubu*(*r*), &c. But it is impossible to place it satisfactorily anywhere. It seems to range from a sort of guttural vowel or semi-vowel somewhere below *u* or above *y*, to the position behind *a*, where we have ventured to place it.

Prof. Latham finds some distinctions of which we were not aware. He says the English has no sound corresponding with the *é fermé* of the French, which he considers as intermediate between *ā* in *fate* and *ee* in *feet*. He even, in one case, calls our *a* in *fate* its "opposite." Now, we had supposed that these two sounds came as near being perfect equivalents as any two sounds whatever, taken one from each

language respectively, or in fact, as any two sounds whatever in any two languages whatever.

He also ranks the *o chiuso* of the Italians, as intermediate between *o* in *note* and *oo* in *book*. To our ear, the sound of *o* in *note* is so exactly like the Italian *o chiuso*, that no *oo*-sound would increase the likeness a whit.

In his vowel system, he regards *a* in *fate* and *o* in *note* as the extremes, considering the other sounds as transitional or intermediate; and gives, as the true order of alliance for a complete vowel system, the following sequences, — *a* in *fate*, *é fermé*, *ee* in *feet*, *ü* in *übel* (Germ.) *oo* in *book*, *o chiuso*, *o* in *note*. To us, such a system seems strangely imperfect and disjointed. The first, the most ancient, the most hearty, the most natural of all vowels, — the *a* in *father*, *pater*, *abba*, — is entirely wanting, and the *o* is unnaturally placed after the *oo*.

As to the question of a convenient number of vowel characters, it might seem at first sight desirable to have our present number, five, increased. But when we consider the infinite and insensible gradations and fluctuations of vowel sounds, both in quality and quantity, we may perhaps be led to the conclusion, that an increase of the number of characters, though it might be a present accommodation, would not prove a *permanent* improvement. Even with the few we now have, such have been the changes in pronunciation since the first notation of our language, that it is by no means an infrequent thing that the same vowel sound should be represented by two or more letters.

In regard to the formation of syllables, to accent, and to the quantity of vowels, Prof. Latham has some very important remarks; important, however, in our apprehension, more as suggesting how much these intricate subjects need further consideration, than as settling right principles or presenting "clear notions" respecting them.

"In *fat* the vowel is, according to common parlance, *short*; in *fate* it is *long*. For the words *long* and *short*, I would fain substitute *independent* and *dependent*. If from the word *fate* I separate the final consonantal sound, the syllable *fa* remains. In this syllable, the *a* has precisely the sound it had before. It is not so in the word *fat*. If from this I remove the consonant following, and so leave the *a* at the end of the syllable, instead of in

the middle, I must do one of two things; I must sound it either as the *a* in *fate*, or else as the *a* in *father*. Its (so-called) short sound it cannot retain, unless it be supported by a consonant following. For this reason it is *dependent*. The same is the case with all the so-called short sounds, namely, — the *e* in *bed*, *i* in *fit*, *a* in *ball*, *o* in *not*, and *u* in *but*."

He afterwards enunciates the following canons: —

"1. All long vowels are independent, but all independent vowels are not long; (e. g., *u* in *monument* is not long, though independent.)

"2. All dependent vowels are short, but all short vowels are not dependent.

"Clear notions upon these matters are necessary for determining the structure of the English and classical metres."

We agree perfectly with this last remark; and we are, moreover, convinced that "clear notions on these matters" can never be attained until we consent to extend our views beyond the narrow and very peculiar circle of our own language, and until certain current terms and obstinate prejudices, peculiar to English usage and the English mind, shall be utterly rooted out and banished. The terms *long* and *short* should no more be used, as they constantly are, to designate distinctions in the *quality* instead of the *quantity* of vowel sounds; for when so used, they are, and inevitably will be, misunderstood. Neither must it be supposed that a certain *quantity* is essentially connected with a certain *quality* of sound; as, for instance, that the *a* as sounded in *fate* is always essentially and necessarily long, or the *a* as in *fat* always and necessarily short. Neither must it be supposed that any quality of vowel sound whatever is naturally incapable either of ending a syllable, or of being closed by a consonant following in the same syllable. These are English perversions and prejudices, which, if we would have a general and commanding, as well as clear and distinct, view of this subject, must be absolutely abandoned and proscribed.

Any quality of vowel sound, whatever, may be protracted to any length whatever which the breath will allow, and yet remain the same sound. The word *fat* may be sung through half a dozen semibreves, the voice dwelling all the while upon the *a*, without changing it into either *a* in *far*, or *a* in *fall*, still less into *a* in *fate*. So with *e* in *bed*, *o* in *not*, &c.

Any quality of vowel sound may be uttered in the shortest possible time which can be measured by the action of the human organs, and yet remain precisely the same quality which a quantity of ten times the length would possess. In short, a certain quality of sound being given, we can always take more or less of it at pleasure.

To our ear, the *a* following the *f* in *fate* is longer, that is, is usually pronounced longer, than in fatal; and decidedly longer in fatal than in fatality, though the same *quality* remains throughout. The case is similar with the first *o* in the series *note, notion, notorious;* and with the *u* in the words *brute, brutal, brutality.* So the *a*, as in *fat*, may be gradually lengthened, as in the series *hat, had, Harry, hairy, hair*, (pronouncing *hair* as it is more usually pronounced in New England,) and the *e* in *bed*, as in *bet, bed, berry, bête* (Fr.) The sounds of the vowels in these two last series are, moreover, similar to each other; the German *ä* or *ae*, combining the two, and giving nearly an intermediate sound between them. South of New England, the *ai* in *hair* is generally pronounced almost exactly like the *ä* or the *ê*.

Prof. Latham says he has convinced himself, that *e* in *bed* is incapable of being independent. Yet the *ê* in *bêtise* and *pêcher* is certainly independent, and so, in actual pronunciation, is the final *e* in *procès, objet*, &c.; though in all these cases, we have only different lengths of the same vowel sound, *e* as in *bed*. Indeed, it is certain, in the nature of the case, that in pronouncing the very word *bed*, we have completed our sound of *e* before we begin the articulation of *d*, and we might stop then, simply omitting the *d*, in which case the *e* must remain as it was, but would be independent.

The amount of Prof. L.'s two canons seems to be just this, — long and short are synonymous with independent and dependent, with one exception, namely, that an independent vowel may sometimes be short, as the *u* in *monument*, for example. But the question is, whether a dependent vowel may not also be long.

The *oo* in *book* he calls independent, and the *ou* in *could*, dependent. We can perceive no considerable difference, if any, in the length, and no difference at all in the dependence of the vowel sound in those two cases. We can perceive a difference in length between *boot* and *book*, *food* and *foot*,

but we cannot find the difference in dependence. The *oo* seems to us just as dependent and just as independent in one case as in the other; unless Prof. L. simply begs the question in the use of the words independent and dependent, making them synonymous with long and short, in which case we can see no great advantage in the use of them. Or, if he uses *independent* as equivalent to the quality of sound we *usually* and *naturally*, not *necessarily*, give a vowel in English, when it ends, the syllable; and *dependent* for the sound, we *usually* and *naturally* give a vowel when it is followed by a consonant in the same syllable, it would have been better to have said so; but, in that case, we do not see of what use the distinction would be in the metres or the pronunciation of the classical, or of any other languages than the English. And even confining the application to our own language; for aught we can see or hear, the *a* is equally dependent and equally long in *angel* and in *anger*, in *part* and in *past*, though in the last case it be pronounced with the precise quality of *a* in *fat*. So, also, the *o* in *lost*, being the same sound as *o* in *lot*, seems to us equally long with *o* in *most*, though in the last case the *o* be that in *note;* and the *u* in *burst* is long in comparison with *u* in *but*. If our view be correct in these or in any of these cases, then is a dependent vowel, even in English, sometimes really *long*, as well as an independent vowel sometimes really short. Certainly a Frenchman would not consider the *é* longer in *pêcher* than the *ê* in *pêcher*, nor the difference between the sound of *ai* in the French *chaîne* or *vaine* and the English *chain* or *vain*, as a difference of *quantity* so much as of *quality*, — although the *é* and the English *ai* are at least nearly our *a* in *fate*, while the French *ê*, *aî*, and *ai*, are at least nearly our *e* in *men*, more or less prolonged.

Prof. L. points out the important distinction between a long *syllable* and a long *vowel;* a distinction which is too often lost sight of, but against which we think we have not sinned.

He also endeavors to explain the difference between accent and quantity; in which we do not think he has clearly succeeded. "In the adjective *augúst*, for example, and the substantive *Áugust*," he maintains that "the quantity (of each vowel or of each syllable?) remains the same, though the accent

is different." We think otherwise. But we heartily commend this whole portion of his work to special attention.

Prof. Latham goes quite to the other extreme from Mr. Harrison's view of gender, as necessarily attaching even to the English article and adjective, and lays it down as "a sort of definition (applicable to substantives as well as adjectives) that *there is no gender when there is no affection of the declension*, consequently, there are no true genders in such words as *genitor*, *genitrix*, nor do we have any true genders until we come to such words as *dominus*, *domina*," — words which differ not in their radical terminations only, but in the forms of their declension. In English, therefore, there may be a distinction of sex, but not of gender.

The mode of forming the plural of *beauty*, *key*, *cargo*, &c. &c., he considers a point not of etymology but of orthography. In this view we agree with him; and we should place in the same category the mode of forming *wiser* from *wise*, *happier* from *happy*, *hotter* from *hot*, &c.; as compared with *greater* from *great*, &c.; also, the mode of forming the third person singular of the verb *go*, &c., and the different modes of forming the past tense of regular (weak) verbs, sometimes adding *d*, sometimes *ed*.

The discussion of the auxiliary verbs, and, consequently, the greater part of the so-called conjugation of the English verb, he dismisses to syntax; a view which certainly deserves respectful consideration.

He recognizes a true dative case in English, in such phrases as, *give him the book*, *tell them the story*, — *him*, *them*, *her*, &c., being originally Anglo-Saxon dative forms, and, in such cases, retaining in English a dative sense and use.

He prefers I *sung* to I *sang*, Mr. Harrison to the contrary notwithstanding. He doubts "whether *our* be a true genitive, rather than an adjectival form," and considers *ours* "as an independent word." "On this, however," he adds, "too much stress cannot [must not] be laid."

He classes affirmatives and negatives as a distinct part of speech. It is certainly difficult to bring them under the definition of any of the parts of speech commonly recognized.

In his first edition, he expressed the opinion, that, in the phrase "he is gone," *gone* must be considered an adjective. This statement, as far as we can find, is omitted in the pre-

sent edition, and, we think, with good reason. The analogy of the French, German, and other languages, would rather lead us to regard it merely as a peculiar mode of conjugating the verb *go*, using the auxiliary *be* instead of *have*, to form its compound tenses, and thus producing a slight modification of meaning. This form was used in the Anglo-Saxon, in the elder English, and in the translation of the Bible, much more constantly than at the present day. With such verbs as *go*, *come*, *arrive*, *enter*, and verbs of motion generally, it is still used in England more than in this country. We say, almost exclusively, "he has come;" "the ship has arrived;" "when he had entered into the house," &c.; whereas in England, one frequently meets still the older forms, "he is come;" "the ship is arrived," &c.

The following statement, made in the first edition, has also been corrected: —

"In predicating something concerning *neither you nor I*, a negative assertion is made concerning *both*. In predicating something concerning *either you or I*, a positive assertion is made concerning *one of the two*. This indicates that *neither* should take a plural, *either* a singular verb; in other words, that the only proper constructions are, 'either you or I *is* in fault,' and 'neither you nor I *are* in fault.'"

But the following equally strange statement has been sufferered to remain: — "to say, 'myself am weak,' is as incorrect as to say, 'my body am weak.'" On the other hand, to our ear, to say, "myself is weak," is as repugnant as to say, "I is weak," or, "I is in fault." Pope says, "myself am blind;" Milton, "myself am hell," "thyself art," &c. Such we think to be the usage of all the best English authors. Indeed, no form of expression could more definitely and decidedly point out the distinction of persons, than *myself*, *thyself*, &c.

The arranging of most of the verbs, commonly called irregular, as a regular conjugation, called the strong conjugation, side by side with those verbs which form their preterite in *ed*, called the weak conjugation, is, doubtless, a very scientific procedure, and well becomes the professed and profound linguist. In such a work as Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, or, in this of Latham's, it is just in place. A conjugation, which, like that of the Hebrew verb, consists chiefly in a modification

of the internal vowel of the word, has as good a right, in itself, to be called a regular conjugation, as that which depends upon additional terminations. It is certainly stronger, and, perhaps, more natural. But it may well be doubted whether, in *practical* grammars of the English language, any thing is gained by introducing this arrangement. It has not been introduced, so far as we know, into the practical school grammars of the German, where it would be even more appropriate, with respect both to the character of the language, and that of those who learn it, than in English. It may be well always to use and enjoy every new light; but in our zeal to appropriate such light, or to show that we have got a sight of it, we shall do well not to remove so far from all the older and brighter luminaries, as really to place ourselves in greater obscurity than before.

If of the verbs of a language some six thousand are conjugated in one way against some one or two hundred in all other ways, and if, as often as a new verb is introduced into the language, it invariably submits to the former mode of conjugation; that mode has certainly a very plausible, practical claim to be considered the normal, regular, conjugation of the language, as it actually exists. And if the one or two hundred others must be divided into twelve or thirteen classes, besides rejecting a few as incorrigible irregulars, there is an additional infelicity in making this complex conjugation of twelve or thirteen classes, with so few individuals, coördinate with (or rather ostensibly superior to) the simple conjugation of the 6000, which needs no subdivision or classification whatever.

But after all, this may be more a dispute of words, than any thing else. We wish only to say, that it would seem to us a plainer method for practical use in learning to master the language, first, to reserve as the only regular verbs, those which have usually been recognized as such, and then to analyze and classify the irregular verbs as thoroughly and scientifically as you please.

Professor Latham has made a distinction, not always sufficiently recognized, between what might be called *aggregate* verbs, and the irregular conjugation. Of the former class, are such words as, *am*, *was*, and *go*, *went*, &c. In such cases, we have parts from different roots put together, so as to form a

continuous conjugation *ad sensum.* In Latin, *sum, fui,* and in French, *aller, vais, irai,* are similar cases.

Go was once conjugated, *go, yode* (*yo-ed,*) *gone* (*go-en*); it was then almost regular. For *yode* we have substituted *went,* derived from *wend,* corresponding to the Latin *vado,* French *vais,* &c. *Yode* also brings the English *go* into sensible connection with the Latin and Greek; thus, for *go, yo* = *eo* = εω, or ειμι.

"In the phrase *this will do* = *this will answer the purpose,* the word *do* is wholly different from the word *do* meaning *to act.* In the first case, it is equivalent to the Latin *valere;* in the second, to the Latin *facere.* Of the first, the Anglo-Saxon inflection is *déah, dugon, dohte, dohtest,* &c. Of the second, it is *dó, dóth, dyde,* &c."

"Mind — *mind and do so and so.* In this sentence, the word *mind* is wholly different from the noun *mind.* The Anglo-Saxon forms *geman, gemanst, gemunon,* without the *d;* this letter occurring only in the preterite tense (*gemunde, gemundon*) of which it is the sign. *Mind* is, then, a preterite form with a present tense; whilst *minded* (as in *he minded his business*) is an instance of excess of inflection."

In regard to *do,* we doubt not the theory above given, is correct; and, in regard to *mind,* it may be so substantially. But we beg leave to suggest another hypothesis in explanation of the added *d.* It may be a mere euphonic addition, as it frequently is after *n;* as in ἄνδρος; *tender;* γεν-ος, *genus, kin, kind;* μεν-ος, *mens, mente, mind.* Or, it may be first derived from the Anglo-Saxon, as a *noun,* and then used in English as a *verb;* thus, in Anglo-Saxon, already, *geman, gemunan,* and (*noun*) *gemynd,* or, omitting the prefix, *munan,* (noun) *mynd.*

These are but specimens of the results of Professor Latham's investigations. His work is a storehouse of learned, judicious, and exceedingly instructive remarks upon the etymologies, analogies, and historical changes of the English language, especially with respect to those words and phrases which are of most frequent colloquial use. And in this edition, the department of syntax — an indispensable and invaluable complement to the rest of the work — is so enlarged, as to be entirely new. We should be glad to follow through some of its more striking details, but must refrain.

We take our leave of this book, with our hearty thanks to the author, and our earnest recommendation of the work itself to the attention of all scholars who would attain a thorough philosophical acquaintance with their mother tongue.

Art. II. *The Roman State, from* 1815 *to* 1850. By Luigi Carlo Farini. Translated from the Italian, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P. for the University of Oxford. London: John Murray. 1851. 2 vols. 8vo.

The author of this work was born in the province of Ravenna, in 1812, and was educated for the medical profession. He became noted for his liberal opinions in politics, though he is not a republican, but a favorer of constitutional monarchy, belonging to the same school with Gioberti and Cesare Balbo, the distinguished author of The Hopes of Italy, who dedicated to him some letters on political subjects, and to whom, in return, this work is inscribed. These men have acquired a just fame for their temperate and judicious views of reform, and for the sound advice which they gave their countrymen, when as yet the yoke of despotism was heavy upon them, not to waste their strength in partial plots and insurrections, or to damage their cause by mad assaults upon religion, and by impracticable schemes for the establishment of a republic, but to watch and labor patiently for the great objects of constitutional freedom and Italian independence. But moderate as Farini's views were, he did not escape persecution from the harsh government of the late Pontiff, Gregory XVI., by whom he was twice sent into exile. He returned to his country under the general amnesty proclaimed by Pius IX., and, in March, 1848, he was appointed minister-substitute, or Under Secretary of State, for the Interior, in the first ministry created under the new constitution. He retained this post as long as his colleagues remained in power, and resumed it under the Mamiani ministry, in the following June. He also sat in the Council of Deputies, and Rossi subse-

quently appointed him Director of the Board of Health, from which office he was ejected by the Triumvirs of the Republic. He was reappointed when the French entered the city, and again displaced by the Triumvirate of Cardinals. Then he took refuge in Turin, where he now holds an appointment.

The history of the author is, to a considerable extent, a voucher for the character of his book. We were therefore prepared to find it worthy of the praise which Mr. Gladstone gives it in his preface, as a work of "great ability and sagacity," particularly remarkable for "its dispassionate and judicial calmness in reference to Roman affairs." It has been received with great favor in Italy, where it is treated as a work of authority, deserving credit for the excellent opportunities which the writer had for acquiring information, for the valuable documents which are inserted in it, and for "the frankness, fairness, and circumspection of the author's judgments upon political events and interests." The fact that an author and statesman of so much eminence as Mr. Gladstone, who has lately earned the thanks of the civilized world for his indignant exposure of the brutal tyranny of the Neapolitan government, has deemed it worthy to be translated and published in England, is in itself no slight testimony in its favor.

We are glad to find a trustworthy guide to any portion of the eventful history of the great revolutionary outbreak in Europe, in 1848. The contemporaneous accounts, as they appeared in the newspapers and other public journals, were so perverted by party spirit and a desire to enlist the sympathy of foreign nations on the one side or the other, and therefore so confused and contradictory, that many inquirers at a distance gave up the task of reconciling them with each other in despair. But the truth gradually creeps out as the passions kindled by those momentous events subside; and though the minds of many have been so preoccupied that they are slow to receive it, the publication of official documents, and the testimony of credible and dispassionate eye-witnesses, at last establish the facts in the case beyond the reach of skepticism. Till the landmarks of history are thus set up, it is idle to risk a judgment on the characters of the agents in the strife, or on the nature of the interests which were at stake. We shall be obliged to set up idols and pull them down again as rapidly as the movers of the first French Revolution installed the busts

of their heroes of a day in the Pantheon, and then thrust them out and dragged them through the mire, — till, growing ashamed of their own fickleness, they suddenly stopped, and left that temple of a nation's gratitude to its great men as empty as it remains to this day.

Pius the Ninth himself is the most striking of the recent instances of these sudden mutations of popular favor. Only three years ago, he was the object of universal veneration and gratitude, not only at Rome, but throughout the civilized world. The prints that were everywhere circulated of his fair and benignant, almost saintlike, countenance answered well to the general impression of his character. His subjects idolized him, and even the sternest Protestants could not refuse a tribute of gratitude and respect to that rare phenomenon, a reforming Pope. If he had died then, the general voice of Christendom would have sanctioned his canonization in a far shorter period than the cautious practice of the Church in modern times has established as a precaution against hasty judgment in placing any name on the calendar of saints. But one short year made a pitiable change, either in his character, or in the ability of the world to read it aright. He has sounded a lower depth in popular estimation even than his predecessor, the harsh and despotic Gregory. Satires and imprecations on him are now rudely scrawled on the walls of public buildings at Rome, through which may still be discerned the half-effaced inscription, *viva Pio Nono.* The languages of Italy and England have been ransacked for terms of reproach and insult to be heaped upon his administration and his name. He is now called a craven apostate to the cause of freedom and progress — the weak tool of Austria and bigoted Cardinals — the persecutor of his former friends, and the oppressor of his people.

Nemo repente fuit turpissimus. We do not believe that Pius was ever so good or so bad a Pope as he has been represented, though a fair estimate of his character would probably incline much in his favor. It is one recommendation of Farini's work, that it supplies a key to the Pontiff's character and the apparent inconsistencies in his conduct, not by what the writer gives as his own opinion, but by the materials furnished to enable the reader to form an opinion for himself. Unfortunately, the volumes now published bring

down the narrative only to the period of the assassination of Rossi and the flight of the Pope, in November, 1848; but a continuation is promised, which will be a history of the Triumvirate, the siege of Rome, and the reëstablishment of the Papal authority. We now propose to give an abstract of the work up to its present limit, not for the purpose of expressing our own views, but in order to lay before our readers a summary of the information afforded by the author, adopting for the moment his conclusions, and even his phraseology when it does not admit of abridgment.

After the pacification of 1815, the Papal government, more than any other court in Italy, evinced a disposition to protect the independence of the peninsula and to repel the encroachments of Austria. Cardinal Consalvi, an active and sagacious minister, remonstrated in a firm tone against the loss of the Papal territory beyond the Po, and the occupation of Ferrara and Comacchio as Austrian military posts. It is the nature of the Roman government to bend to necessity, but never to resign or forget her claims; and the Pope resented a partial restoration in the tone of one who was aggrieved rather than benefited by the success of the Allied Powers. But this disposition to restore every thing to the standard of 1790 operated to the detriment of the home government. The ecclesiastics returned to the civil offices of which they had been dispossessed. The tendency of the administration was retrograde, and the customs and institutions which had been reformed by the French were generally restored to their ancient footing, the few improved forms which were allowed to continue not harmonizing with the rest of the fabric. This state of things could not fail to excite general discontent, and the power of the government was sternly exercised to repress it. Educated persons, men of letters and science, were naturally most impatient for reform, and they bore the full brunt of persecution. Then, among others, Pellegrino Rossi, the chief ornament of the university of Bologna, was driven into exile, and soon acquired distinction at Paris, whence he returned as French ambassador to Rome, there to perish miserably by assassination. The Pope formally anathematized the sect of the Carbonari; but they had become too much imbued with French principles of philosophy to heed the now innocuous thunders of the Church. Then a rival

sect was established, that of the Sanfedists, to combat it with its own weapons.

"There had existed anciently a politico-religious association, called the *Pacifici*, or the *Santa Unione*, which took for its motto the text of the Gospel, "*Beati pacifici quia filii Dei vocabuntur*," and was sworn to maintain the public peace at the risk of life. Perhaps in its origin Sanfedism was the development and amplification of a scheme of this kind; its professed object was, to defend the Catholic religion and the privileges and jurisdictions of the Court of Rome, with the temporal dominion and the prerogatives of the Papacy, as well from the plots of innovators as from the aggressions of the Empire. This ideal Sanfedism was essentially cosmopolite, with a capacity of reaching, under different forms, all the points to which the hierarchical offshoots of the Church so marvellously spread. It was retrogressive, aiming at an absolute theocracy. It was, or seemed to be, national, by opposing the influence of the Empire. Those who held high office in the Church or in the State; those who were in esteem for property, for high birth, or for wisdom; those who were conspicuous for well-ordered life and firm belief, should have been the natural governors and moderators of the society; but since all human designs deteriorate as they go into operation, so it easily happened that rank and dignity were held sufficient without merit or learning, fortune without the habit of employing it properly, nobility of origin without nobility of mind; and that hypocrisy assumed the garb of religion, covetousness of loyalty. Hence there were many knaves, many impostors, and many scoundrels, who made use of the influence of the society for their personal advantage. Time brought about modifications, and Sanfedism grew worse while it grew older, as will presently be seen. In the mean time, it is well to fix the mind on this association, which held absolute and extreme principles together with retrograde political aims, and to place it in comparison with the sect of the Carbonari; we may then well conceive how many feuds, and what standing conflict, must needs have been the result." Vol. i. pp. 10 – 12.

The revolutions of 1820 took place at Naples and in Piedmont; but the Carbonari of the Papal States, lacking either numbers or courage, did not second the movement, and it was crushed by Austrian intervention. The feeling of discontent was naturally exasperated by this failure, by the intrusion of foreigners, and by the severe punishments inflicted on those who had favored the outbreak. The strife of the Carbonari with the Sanfedists was aggravated, and the war between

them was waged mainly with the assassin's knife. The government had no longer any moral power over its subjects, and the people could not contend successfully against it because they wasted their strength in civil feuds and dissensions.

"Furthermore, there were arrested and given over to Austria, some inhabitants of Romagna, accused of complicity with Gonfalonieri, and the other distinguished Lombards who were afterwards condemned to the martyrdom of the Spielberg. Most fatal errors! from whence it followed, that the Liberals confounded in their hatred the foreign oppressor, and the feeble ecclesiastical government, which appeared to be his tool.

"Many exiles from the Pontifical States found a near refuge in Tuscany, where the Grand-duke Ferdinand generously gave them shelter, and was so wise and moderate in his administration that it stood in glaring contrast with that of Romagna. The exiles, in their dispersion, related their recent calamities, detailed the base and unjust proceedings of the Pontifical government, perhaps coloring them with spite. There was no care for the cultivation of the people, no anxiety for public prosperity; Rome was a cesspool of corruption, of exemptions and of privileges; a clergy made up of fools and knaves in power, the laity slaves; the treasury plundered by gangs of tax farmers and spies; all the business of government consisted in prying into and punishing the notions, the expectations, and the imprudences of the Liberals. A great blunder this in government, to send abroad a multitude of exiles, who, travelling from land to land, make a display of their misery and excite the sympathy of the nations, expose to view the sores of a state, give it a bad name in other countries, and likewise, by the ties of family and of sect, keep alive within it perpetual hates and hopes. When the devout Pontiff Pius VII. gave up his soul to God on the 20th of August, 1823, the spirit of party was corroding the bonds of society, especially in the four Legations, and the Pontifical government had little either of love at home, or of respect abroad." Vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

Cardinal Della Genga was elected Pope, and took the title of Leo XII., when he was sixty-four years of age, and so infirm that he told his friends, who had intimated to him their purpose of raising him to the Popedom, "Do not think of me, for you would elect a corpse." But when fairly seated on the throne, the energy of his mind overcame the weakness of his physical frame. He carried back the government still farther than his predecessor had done to the

principles of the olden time; but he remedied many evils in the state by the vigor of his administration. His watchful and active spirit infused new life into every department; and the excitement and labor so revived his strength, that he was able to leave his palace to visit hospitals, jails, and monasteries, and seemed to multiply himself that he might suffice for all his duties. He brought again all the institutions of education and beneficence under the direction of the clergy, and enlarged the clerical immunities and jurisdictions. He deprived the Jews of much of the toleration which they had hitherto enjoyed, and treated them with so much rigor, that the wealthiest among them were forced to emigrate, and carry their property and enterprise to other climes. Some of the provinces were infested with banditti, and the stringent measures adopted to suppress them gave more offence than the previous insecurity of property and life. Then the policy was changed, and the robber bands were broken up through agreements made with their captains, and by granting pensions for life to the chief offenders. Political assassinations, always the opprobrium of Roman politics, had become frequent, and secret combinations were more powerful than the government. All the odious secret machinery of the police was therefore set in motion to ferret out the criminals, and when detected, they were punished without mercy. The public voice confessed that the punishment was just; but the employment of spies and informers, the iniquitous modes of inquiry and trial, and the arbitrary conduct of the judges, nursed the public discontent, and averted attention from the good that was accomplished.

"Bernetti was a clear-headed man, keenly attached to the independence of Rome and to clerical power, and an adept in government after the Roman fashion. Leo named him Secretary of State in January, 1827, and received from him effective aid both in council and in action, conformably to his own mode of policy and administration. He dogged and hunted down the enemies of the throne and the altar, as they called the Liberals, but not in such a way as to place himself wholly at the mercy of those dangerous friends the Austrians, or to promote the aggrandizement of the Imperial fortunes at the expense of the States of the Church. Leo XII. and Cardinal Bernetti preserved in its original purity the anti-imperial spirit of Sanfedism; and although the Pope publicly blessed the Austrian troops on their return from Naples, yet there is no doubt that he did not like their scouring the Pontifical dominions.

"Truth requires me to relate, that, in the reign of Leo XII., and under Bernetti's administration, some good and useful acts were done. There were abuses removed, and persons guilty of them punished; endeavors were made to set in order the hospitals and charitable institutions of Rome; streets, bridges, and other public works, were completed or commenced; general security was reëstablished in those districts that had been plundered by brigands; method was introduced into the expenditure, and the land-tax was diminished by a third; a sinking fund for extinguishing the public debt was established on an adequate basis. These were benefits which might have gained for the Papal authority the strength both of gratitude and of love, if, when the people were presented with them, they had been gratified simultaneously with those institutions and civilizing laws which others, even though subjects of absolute monarchies, enjoyed; and if they had not been accompanied with superfluous severities and acts of political injustice. But the people could not appreciate the good which in certain respects the government was effecting, because it still steered the vessel of state against the current of the age, for the advantage of a caste, sometimes of a clique." Vol. i. pp. 28, 29.

Leo XII. died in 1829, "and bequeathed to his successor more of discontent among the laity, and resentment among the Liberals, than he had himself inherited from his predecessor."

Passing over the short and uneventful administration of Pius VIII., who survived his elevation to the papal chair only a year and a half, we come to the pontificate of Gregory XVI., who was chosen while all Europe was still in the feverish state into which it had been thrown by the French revolution of 1830. The metropolis was greatly agitated, and there was even a partial insurrection, which was put down, after a scuffle, by the Papal guards, while the Cardinals were in conclave for his election. Mauro Capellari, a Carmelite monk, and General of that order, was esteemed a learned theologian, and had written valuable works about the Church; but he had had no political experience when he was chosen Pope, and took the title of Gregory XVI. Two days after he ascended the throne, a revolution broke out at Bologna, and was entirely successful without bloodshed, the Papal troops either joining the insurgents, or giving up their arms without resistance. A provisional government was appointed, a civic guard established, the tricolor flag was

hoisted in place of the Papal arms, and the temporal dominion of the Pope was declared to be forever at an end. Never was there a more striking exhibition of the pitiable weakness of a government and its total incapacity of standing alone. The insurrection spread rapidly in Romagna and the lower provinces, "without effort of the rebels, without resistance from the soldiery, so that it appeared a public merry-making rather than a political revolution." In Modena and Parma, also, the government fell without a struggle; in Rome, there was great bewilderment and alarm, but no outbreak. Public tranquillity was little affected by the change; "the national guards kept holiday; there were tricolor flags, illuminations, hymns, and harangues more than enough; in fact, it was a stage revolution." The brothers Napoleon and Louis Bonaparte, sons of the ex-king of Holland, had participated in the conspiracy, and wished to share the triumph. But the insurgents were anxious to secure the favor of the new king of France, and, to avert any cause of suspicion and jealousy on his part, they would not allow the two brothers to take any open part in public affairs, or even to serve as private soldiers. They were sent to Forli, where the elder fell sick and died. The seat of the new government was fixed at Bologna, whither the insurgent provinces sent deputies, who met on the 26th of February, and organized an administration, appointing Vicini the president of a council of ministers.

Vicini published a manifesto of the revolution, which is here inserted entire, and in which, our author observes, "amidst erroneous ideas, paltry municipal complaints, pettifogging sophisms, political blunders, and puerile declamation, there are nevertheless true allegations both of facts and of grievances." The gist of the whole lies in a single sentence: — "Under the rule of the Popes, not only were we without fundamental laws, without national representation, but we had no provincial councils, no municipal authorities, and no security for person or property." Had the revolutionists shown any political discretion, by making proper diplomatic arrangements, or even manifested any public spirit or unanimity of sentiment, they might have held their ground, or made terms with the Pope which would have been a permanent benefit to the country. But they were actuated by a petty jealousy of each other, and by overweening confidence in their cause and

in assistance from France. The several revolutionized States had but one interest; but they kept apart, talked about non-intervention, and would not combine their means of defence or succor each other. So they were overpowered in detail by a handful of Austrians. The Pope made no attack upon them, for he had no means; and when he sent Cardinal Benvenuti to them, with the powers of legate *a latere*, to try for a compromise, they seized him and held him prisoner. While thus bidding defiance to their enemies, they made no adequate provision for defence. Only a few generous youth enlisted in the army, and no munitions of war were obtained, no fortresses garrisoned. The result might have been foreseen. An Austrian detachment of only 800 men surprised the provisional government of Parma, defeated the little force that had been collected, and restored Maria Louisa to her old authority. The turn of Modena came next; and in three days' time, General Zucchi, who had the command of a few troops there, was driven off into the Papal territory, and the Duke was reinstated. When the fugitives came to Bologna for shelter, the infatuated provisional government there, expecting daily to be attacked, and needing every man and gun that could be had, refused them permission to enter except without arms. Then the Austrians came, and the government fled to Ancona, giving Zucchi the command, at the last moment, of their little army. "It was in great part composed of young volunteers; the troops of the line were few, the cavalry fewer still, the artillery scantiest of all." The commander was brave and able, and effected all that was possible with such means; he held the Austrian force, which numbered a little more than 5,000 men, at bay for a day or two, repelled two attacks, and was not driven out of Rimini till nightfall. But the craven government at Ancona did not wait to hear whether he was victorious or defeated. They released Cardinal Benvenuti, and made terms with him, that the Liberals should lay down their arms, and the authority of the Pope be restored, stipulating only that a general amnesty should be granted, and a safe-conduct to those who preferred to emigrate. Mamiani, afterwards so famous, was the only member of the provisional government who would not subscribe this disgraceful capitulation. "The end resembled the beginning; all was precipitancy, pliancy, and meanness of spirit."

The population of Parma, Modena, and the revolted Roman provinces, taken together, was at least equal, probably much superior, to that of the United States, as it was at the beginning of our Revolutionary war. It was concentrated, there was considerable wealth among the people, and they had all the means within their reach for making a vigorous defence. Why, then, were these States overrun, and the government of the people put down, by a mere handful of Austrian soldiers? There can be but one answer to this question. The Italians, at least in this part of Italy, are willing to be free, they can protest loudly against the tyranny of their rulers, and can form endless conspiracies against them. But they have not energy and patriotism enough to combine and make a manful fight for freedom. General Howe had as large a force under him, when he was besieged in Boston by insurgent New England, as sufficed to put down the whole insurrection in central Italy. It should be added, also, that the grievances which drove our fathers into rebellion were not half so serious as those under which Italy has groaned for centuries. If equal provocation had been given, the old women in New England with their broomsticks would have made a better fight against the royal governors with their forces, than did three or four millions of the Italian people against the foreigners who came to whip them back into slavery. We do not say this in the spirit of a vainglorious nationality; the English would have done as much, the French would have done as much. But there is a defect in the character of the Italian people, whether inherent, or the effect of centuries of oppression and misrule, which renders them incapable of achieving their freedom by their own efforts. They depend on foreign aid, are disappointed, and then sink back with hardly a struggle under the despotism from which they had for a moment emerged. This has thrice happened within the lifetime of the present generation; in 1820, in 1831, and again in 1849. The proof may be found in a comparison of the forces raised on each occasion with the whole number of the people, and in the want of steadiness and perseverance evinced in the conflict.

But this digression has been forced from us; we return to Signor Farini, and the history of the Roman States under Gregory XVI. The capitulation of Ancona was not ob-

served, either by Austria or the Pope. The latter repudiated the amnesty, and sentenced General Zucchi to death, though the punishment was afterwards commuted to imprisonment for life. Thirty-eight other persons were excepted from the general pardon that was afterwards published. But the great powers of Europe, seeing the inability of the Pope to maintain himself, and desirous of avoiding the dissension among themselves which would ensue if any one of them should assume the protectorate of the Papal dominions, united in a recommendation of such measures of reform as seemed most likely to secure the permanent tranquillity of the Roman States. The principal improvements thus recommended by Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, were detailed in a paper presented in their name by Count Lutzow, the Austrian ambassador at Rome, on the 10th of May, 1831, and strongly pressed upon the Papal government. It was a striking proof of the weak and disorganized condition of that government, that reforms in it should be advised by such powers as Austria and Russia. But the measures recommended were not very sweeping; they were, that the laity should be generally admitted to the administrative and judicial functions, that municipalities should be instituted, elected by the people, and municipal privileges be granted, that Provincial Councils should be organized, and that a central board should be created, charged with the audit of the public accounts and the care of the public debt. Slight as these recommendations were, the Pope deemed them excessive, and did not comply with half of them; and as the advice given was generally known, this sullen and imperfect compliance only increased the public discontent.

"By way of specimen of that participation which had been claimed for laymen in the government, they were allowed to preside over one or two of the northern provinces, but with limited powers, and with the title of Prolegate, which signified that they held office provisionally, and in lieu of Cardinal Legates. Lastly, on the 5th of July, was published a *motu proprio*, respecting Municipalities, which, instead of the large concessions proposed in the Memorandum, decreed that the original nomination of the Municipal Councillors should belong to the government, that then the Councils should be renewed in the method and form pointed out, and should be filled up by self-election, but the Government

should always retain full power to accept or refuse the Councilmen elect, as well as those proposed for the magistracy. Nothing was to be discussed in the Municipal Councils without a previous approval by the Government of the subjects and order of the debate; the nomination of Municipal Officers, until it had the sanction of Government, was to be null; an officer of Government was to be present at the sittings of the Municipal Councils, and no resolution was to be valid without the approval of the President of the Province. The *motu proprio*, though it was to be law for the whole State, never took effect in Rome, which remained, as heretofore, without a corporation; the Municipalities in the neighborhood of the capital continued to depend on the so-called 'Congregation of good government;' and thus was disregarded even the recommendation, given in the Memorandum, of uniformity in the improvements, and in the laws for the entire State. In short, Rome followed her own bent, and not the wishes and plans of the Ambassadors." Vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

We need not dwell upon the subsequent acts of Gregory's government, which lasted till June, 1846. It was consistent throughout, being characterized only by stubborn opposition to all change, and by the harshness, often amounting to cruelty, with which it repressed the movements of the ever-restless Liberals. The occupation of Ancona by the French, a measure adopted by them to deprive Austria of the exclusive protectorate of the Roman States, cheered the disaffected for a short time with the hope of more effective aid in counteracting the despotic course of the administration. But Casimir Perier was then prime minister of France, and his policy was too conservative and pacific to admit any serious quarrel with the Papal and Austrian powers. The domestic government at Ancona was soon restored entirely to the Pope; and though the French troops remained there for some years, it was only as the Pope's auxiliaries. They held the forts, but did not meddle with civil affairs. The Papal government strengthened itself by taking two Swiss regiments into pay, and by increasing the number of domestic troops, though the finances of the state could ill sustain the additional burden. Measures were taken to bring out by military discipline the whole force of the sect of Sanfedists, and of all others who, from political or religious motives, upheld the existing government. Thus was organized a kind of local militia, composed exclusively of furious partisans of the

Church, who were called the Centurions, the name being taken from an ancient institution of the Papal States that had been destroyed by Sixtus V.

"Cardinal Brignole, who had come to Bologna as Commissioner Extraordinary instead of Albani, showed great zeal in the foundation of this secret militia, which remained in the condition of a clandestine society in the Marches, in Umbria, and in the other Lower Provinces, but in the four Legations they assumed the name and uniform of Pontifical Volunteers. These Centurions and Volunteers obtained their recruits among the meanest and most criminal of the people. They had the privilege of carrying arms, were exempt from certain municipal taxes, and were influenced by fanaticism, not only political but likewise religious, because certain bishops and priests enrolled and instructed them. In some towns and castles they domineered with brutal ferocity; at Faenza particularly, where Sanfedism had of old struck deep root, they scoured the place, in arms to the teeth, like a horde of savages in a conquered country; the police was in their hands, so that they practised insolence and excess with impunity; the country people and servants resisted the authority of their masters, nor was there any means of remedy, for those in power were either of the same fry, or else were afraid of the excesses of this dominant faction. It avenged the wrongs of the Government, those of religion, those of the sect and of every member of it, and it lighted up in Romagna a very hell of frantic passions. I have only to add, that these Centurions were also political assassins. I have already told, and I sorrowfully repeat it, how the Liberal sects of Romagna had begun at an early date to imbrue their hands in the blood of their party opponents. The example was fatal; blood brought forth blood." Vol. ii. pp. 72, 73.

As early as 1831, Giuseppe Mazzini, a young exile from Genoa, conceived the idea of organizing all the political refugees from Italy into one body, which should have the direction in future of all plots against the existing governments, instead of allowing the plots to be conducted, as formerly, by those who had escaped suspicion and remained at home. Hitherto, the refugees in foreign lands had waited for the movements of their confederates in Italy, standing in readiness to aid them when the hour arrived, but not assuming to prompt or direct actual measures. Mazzini wished to frame plots for Italy, and to place their centre, abroad. The refugees were to be the soul of them, and not mere auxiliaries;

he himself was to be their head. The project was drawn, as Farini remarks, from the history of the turbulent Italian republics of the Middle Ages, the exiles from one of which used to busy themselves with endeavors to raise money and troops in rival cities, and to draw other courts into the quarrel, in order afterwards to act vigorously with the remains of their faction at home, in an attempt to unseat the party in power, and reëstablish their own dominion. To his new sect, which was designed to absorb all the others, Mazzini gave the name of *Young Italy*, as if in token of a new creed and new objects; and he excluded from it every man who was over forty years old, as if to show that he wished enthusiasm rather than judgment or experience.

"He enjoined obedience, and surrender of will and of strength, on the part of every member, to the orders of their chiefs; he arranged that all should have arms, ammunition, and military training. This *Giovine Italia* was a mixture of Germanism and Christianity, of Romanism and mysticism, through which the old purely political sects were transmuted into an association, in part political, in part social, and in part religious. The Carbonari, it is true, were for the most part either indifferentists or followers of Voltaire; but that old sect bore more enmity to the priests than to the religion of our fathers; the new one had a positive religious faith, not avowed, it is true, or determined, but in substance heretical with reference to the Roman Catholic creed. And as in philosophy and in religion, so likewise it was positive in politics, whether with respect to an organization for the nation, or to the form of government, or to its social institutions; choosing as its idol Unity for the first, a Republic for the second, and pure Democracy for the third.

"The emigrants and exiles of 1831 and 1832, who were possessed of the qualities that Mazzini wanted, namely, youth, enthusiasm, and daring, enrolled themselves in the *Giovine Italia;* and those who, belonging to the Pontifical States, obtained leave to come home, became propagators of the institution, and found abundant materials for proselytism in the province of Romagna, where the sectarian temper and customs were inveterate, and where the operations of the Sanfedist faction had provoked a vindictive spirit. The refugees gave to the conspirators at home hopes of speedy deliverance; nor did they simply propose to change the government from being absolute and narrow to one constitutional and large, or to effect alterations in a single Italian Province, but rather to conquer the entire country and govern it

according to the creed of the *Giovine Italia*, that is to say, as a republic, democratical, one and indivisible. War was then to be waged upon all the Governments, and upon all the Princes of Italy; war upon the very idea of a Prince or of a Monarch; war upon the Austrians; war upon Europe, the guardian and avenger of treaties. *Giovine Italia* begged the *obolus* out of the lean purses of the refugees — such were its revenues; it enlisted on foreign soil, with an oath of life and death, Italian exiles and young Poles, fearless for their lives, and forward to expose themselves to conflict — such were its armies; it conspired with the republicans of France — such were its allies; it despatched conspirators and agitators into Italy — such were its ambassadors and diplomatists. And as if its movements to and fro, its levies of money, its purchases of arms, and its other numerous indications, any single one of which is more than enough in the eyes of a modern police, did not suffice to give an inkling of its machinations, this *Giovine Italia* printed a Journal, in which the principles and aims of the association were frankly declared." Vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

Early in 1834, Mazzini made the first attempt to reduce his new plan to action. He had collected in Switzerland a small store of arms and ammunition, and about a thousand refugees, either Italian, Polish, or German. A revolution in Geneva was to be their first achievement; but the authorities of that place got wind of the conspiracy, and easily baffled it without bloodshed. Then these doughty crusaders, determined to make a revolution somewhere, marched upon Savoy, under General Ramorino, and captured a Piedmontese custom-house at Annecy, having dispersed a few carabineers and custom-house officers, who formed its garrison. There they erected a tricolor flag, and invited the people to join them; but the people did not stir, and after waiting in vain for them about three hours, the Mazzinians concluded to depart, not knowing exactly whither. Before night, they were straggling about in all directions, with the king's troops close behind them, hunting them over the frontier. They had skilfully concerted their measures with the disaffected within the province. "On the same day, about a hundred men, almost all of them Savoyards, moved from Grenoble upon Echelles, shouting 'Long live the *Giovine Italia*.' They made prisoners of the carabineers who defended the custom-house, and intended to march forward against Chambéry, when a

company of Piedmontese soldiers assaulted them by night, put them to flight, and drove them back into the French territory. The enterprise was never more than smoke, and in smoke it ended." The only effect of this ridiculous undertaking was, to bring discredit and contempt upon the republican cause throughout Italy, to discourage its adherents, and to put the government upon the track, so that it was able to apprehend and banish a number more of them. Mazzini's army abroad increased about as fast as it dwindled at home.

Wiser counsels and more judicious friends were not wanting to the cause of Italian freedom and independence. Even Mamiani, and others among the proscribed, censured the foolish projects of Mazzini, and advised the Liberal party to beware of them. Gioberti and Balbo, both from Turin, the one in exile and the other at home, formed almost simultaneously the same views of Italian politics, and strove to impress them upon their countrymen through the press. They are able and eloquent writers, and their publications had a great effect upon public opinion. Both advocated the formation of a great confederacy of all the Italian States, having either the Pope or the king of Sardinia as its head; independence of all foreign powers, and the establishment of constitutional governments, being parts of their scheme. They recommended all practicable modes of conciliation, and maintained that there was no insurmountable obstacle to perfect concord between the people and their princes. Gioberti earnestly taught, that conspiracies and partial insurrections would not hasten, but retard, the redemption of Italy; that the Catholic religion was not opposed to any honorable plans of freedom, but blessed and sanctified them; that the sanctity of the end did not justify unrighteous measures; and that the Liberals should give up their fruitless plots and their irreverence towards the Church, and aim to draw their sovereigns along with them in the paths of reform and independence.

These opinions, which were also, in the main, those of Massimo d'Azeglio, made many converts, and the party of the reformers soon outnumbered that of the revolutionists. Still, Farini says, there was great discouragement, and that, with many, discouragement led to indifference. But the prospect was not all gloomy. Great hopes were entertained of the reigning Archduke of Tuscany, a liberal and humane prince,

and of Charles Albert of Savoy, a chivalrous sovereign, once imbued with liberal opinions, and still devoted to schemes for improving the welfare of his subjects. The government of Gregory XVI. was, by universal consent, detestable; but he was old, and the leading powers of Europe had recognized the necessity of reform in his dominions; so it might be hoped with some reason, that a new Pope would have a new system, and introduce some essential reforms. Of the college of Cardinals our author speaks with much respect, for though they are not remarkable for political ability or administrative talent, yet with a few exceptions, "it is but fair to bear testimony to their sincere piety, and to the purity of their lives."

In Gregory's time, all the high offices of state, including even the department of war and the direction of the police, were in the hands of Cardinals or Prelates. The public funds were in great disorder; the debt exceeded thirty-seven millions of crowns, and there was an annual deficit of half a million. The economical system was bad, obstructing the growth of public wealth, and the large entailed estates and *majorats* hindered the circulation of property. The judicial system was complicated and bad, the administration of justice being slow, costly, and uncertain. Of the Inquisition at Rome, Farini remarks, that it has never had such an ill name for cruelty as the Spanish Inquisition, and "it has not in our day made itself remarkable either for acts of ferocity or multiplied annoyances." The number of persons persecuted for political reasons by the government was very great; at the close of Gregory's pontificate, the exiles, together with those proscribed and under sentence, amounted perhaps to two thousand. Several thousands more were *under warning*, as it was called, and were thus excluded from all offices of honor or emolument. The aggregate population of the Papal States is about three millions.

The following is given by Signor Farini as a summary of the state of public opinion at the time of the death of Gregory XVI.

"The higher nobility of Rome, its Dukes and Princes, revered the Papacy, as an institution to which they owed their fortune, rank, and ancient privileges; but they were not friendly to the absolute sway of the sacerdotal caste, distinguished neither for diligence,

learning or virtue. The Provincial nobility were either disinclined or positively hostile to the Papal Government, or else indifferent about it. In the Provinces, not a few nobles had joined in plots.

"The higher class, independent in fortune and circumstances, was limited at Rome, and not attached to the Government; the clients and retainers of Cardinals and Prelates were numerous; so were the traffickers in abuses. There were plenty of court-followers, censorious and double-faced, an effeminate crowd, voluptuous and effete, servile to its masters, but without heart, without honor, without spirit.

"The artisans and lower class in Rome were perhaps attached to the Pontiff, but little to the Prince, and to the Government not at all; they were proud of the Roman name, uncivilized, and quarrelsome. In the provincial towns, the populace had mingled in the sects, and were daring partisans. The country people were everywhere peaceful, devoted to the Head of their religion, reverent to their priesthood, only discontented at paying too much.

"The minor clergy, whether of the capital or of the provinces, were single-minded, little instructed, given to complain of the abuses at Rome, and of the badness of the Government, and with few exceptions, neither turbulent nor immoral; but that portion of it, more foreign than Roman, which lives and fattens, or hopes to live and fatten, upon abuses and on power and honors, was false, hypocritical, sectarian, and factious, too, as occasion served.

"In a word, the Government was far from strong in the attachment of its subjects, or in public opinion.

"Abroad it was the object of sharp reproach, and of sarcasm; its character was exceeding bad; the world believed that there must be fresh troubles, and that prompt and substantial reforms were required. The diplomatic body stood in dread of insurrection and revolution." Vol. ii. pp. 166, 167.

Gregory died on the 1st of June, 1846; and on the 16th of that month, after the Cardinals had been but two days in conclave, they elected to the papacy Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, who took the name of Pius IX. It was thought probable that Lambruschini might be chosen, as many of the Cardinals were indebted to him for their rank and fortune, and he had many partisans in the court and city. But, "when the Sacred College is assembled for business, prudence outweighs in it both private inclination and party spirit, to a much greater degree than is commonly believed;" and in this conclave, many wisely believed that it was essential to select one who was a native of the State, and not far advanced in years, who

would see the necessity of correcting abuses and making some reforms. Yet on the first scrutiny, Lambruschini obtained more votes than any other person, so that his election seemed probable. But the Cardinals opposed to him entered into a combination, and chose Ferretti.

"The curiosity of the populace always induces them to crowd to the *Piazza del Quirinale* when the Conclave is sitting, in order to observe the smoke that issues from one of the chimneys when they burn the tickets, which have been used in scrutinies leading to no result. On the evening of the 16th, they did not perceive the *fumata*, as it is called, and they concluded that an election had been made. At the same time there went abroad, no one knows how, a report that the new Pope was Cardinal Gizzi, who was in credit and esteemed, because, as compared with the Cardinals Vannicelli and Massimo, he had governed his province well, and had been praised for it by Massimo d'Azeglio in his tract upon the events of Romagna. This report caused great joy in Rome.

"The happy intelligence spread through the neighboring districts, and came as far as Ceccano, the native place of Cardinal Gizzi, where his family was complimented with visits of congratulation. When, on the morning of the 17th, the new Pope was announced in the accustomed manner from the great balcony of the Quirinal, the public mind was thrown into suspense. It had at first unbent itself to rejoicing at the supposed election of Cardinal Gizzi, who was in esteem as a prudent administrator, whereas its judgment was necessarily at fault respecting Cardinal Mastai, as he was unknown in matters of government. And when, on the following day, Pius IX. repaired, according to custom, to the Vatican, to give thanks to the Most High, and again on the day of his enthronization, which was the 21st, the public demonstrations were not materially different from those which the Roman people usually make on such occasions." Vol. ii. pp. 173, 174.

"Cardinal Mastai Ferretti was born at Sinigallia on the 13th of May, 1792, of a noble and much respected family, and had been trained and instructed by the Fathers of the order of the Scolopi, in the College of Volterra, where he boarded from 1803 to 1809. Being at Rome in 1815, he made application in the month of June for admittance into the corps of the Pope's Guard of nobles; which he failed to obtain in consequence of his infirm health, subject as he was to suffer from epileptic fits. In May, 1816, he assumed the ecclesiastical habit, and applied to the study of theology, in which he had for his teacher the pious and

learned priest Graziosi. In 1818, he went to his native place, Sinigallia, upon a missionary tour, in company with Monsignor Odescalchi, who was afterward Cardinal, and died a Jesuit. After his return to Rome, he asked to be ordained priest, and it was granted, on condition that he should say mass only in private and with a priest-assistant, because he still continued delicate in health. But he afterward improved to such a degree, that, after he had celebrated his first mass on Easter Day, 1819, he was not for a long time troubled by his accustomed malady. He then became coadjutor to a stall in the Collegiate Church of *S. Maria in Via Lata*, and President of the Hospital of Tata Giovanni for poor lads; in these offices he distinguished himself by a remarkable piety, and left an excellent example and reputation. In 1823, he went to Chili in the capacity of secretary to Monsignor Muzi, who was despatched thither on account of some questions respecting the clergy; and he not only filled his office well, but also preached and gave instructions in the truths of the Gospel. In 1825, he returned to Rome, and was appointed to govern the Apostolic Hospital of *San Michele a Ripa*. He deserved well of that establishment, and grew so much in reputation, that in 1827, Leo XII. named him Archbishop of Spoleto. Next Gregory XVI. sent him to Imola as Bishop in 1832, and announced his name as Cardinal in December, 1840." Vol. i. pp. 172, 173.

The course of the new Pope did not long remain doubtful. He limited the expenses of the Court at once, dispensed alms in abundance, set aside one day of each week for giving audiences, and commanded that political inquisitions should be stopped immediately. These few steps, taken before he had had time to consult with others, or even to reflect much on the duties of his new position, afford perhaps a better indication of the mild and kind character of the new Pontiff than the graver political acts which were subsequently performed. These show us the man, the others reveal only the sovereign. Just one month after his election, a manifesto of amnesty for all political offenders was published at Rome, including the exiles, those awaiting trial, and those undergoing sentence. The only condition annexed was, that the individuals pardoned should give their word of honor never to abuse the indulgence, and to fulfil every duty of a good citizen.

The news of this act flew like the wind through the Papal States, and caused everywhere a burst of exultation and gratitude towards the new sovereign. It carried joy to thousands

of households, bringing back to them the long-separated brother or parent, and it was a token of future peace and contentment. In the city, says Farini, the Hosannas were countless; each citizen embraced his neighbor like a brother; thousands of torches blazed in the evening; the multitude ran to the palace of the Pope, called for him, threw themselves prostrate on the earth before him, and received his blessing in devout silence. Many of the pardoned offenders were still more extravagant in their demonstrations of joy and thankfulness. Among them was Galletti, of Bologna, afterwards one of the Pope's ministers, and most active in those measures which ended in the assassination of Rossi, and in driving Pius into exile. He had been sentenced to imprisonment for life, and was kept in the castle of Sant' Angelo. When released, he threw himself at the Pope's feet, and swore, by his own heart's blood and that of his children, that he would be grateful and faithful. Some of the exiles, however, among whom was Mamiani, refused to subscribe the proposed engagement, simple as it was; but they returned after a time to their homes, merely promising allegiance. Every time that the Pope left his palace, he was surrounded by a sort of triumphal procession. The whole length of the Corso was decorated when he passed through it, and hundreds of likenesses of him, and of panegyrical compositions, covered the walls. Foremost in getting up these popular celebrations was Angelo Brunetti, afterwards so well known by his nickname of Ciceruacchio. "He was a person of single mind, rustic in manners, proud and at the same time generous, as is common with Romans of the lower class." By his industry he had acquired considerable property, and by his liberal use of it he had become a leader of the populace, whom he now fired with his own enthusiasm for Pius IX.

The Pope would have been more than man, if his head had not been a little turned with all this adulation, which came to him from many foreign lands as well as from Italy. But his simple and modest character bore the trial well; he manifested no undue elation, and formed his plans tranquilly and without hurry for the improvement of his people. Cardinal Gizzi, well known as a friend to reform, and much attached to the Pope, was named Secretary of State; and he wrote letters to the Presidents of provinces, inviting them, the

municipal magistrates, ecclesiastics, and all respectable citizens, to prepare and offer schemes for promoting popular education, and especially for the moral, religious, and industrial instruction of the children of the poor. Commissions were appointed to deliberate and advise upon many subjects of proposed reform. Great, indeed, was the need of change in the institutions of the Pontifical States; but the government had a delicate part to play in amending them, and it wisely determined not to be precipitate in its measures. "Already the Liberals had conceived boundless desires, and the Retrogradists were haunted with unreasonable fears. The government had, to-day, to moderate on the left, to-morrow, to reassure on the right; then, with fresh circular despatches, wellnigh to scold men for hoping too much." But the friends of change, says Farini, were, for the most part, measured in their wishes and cautious in their proceedings; for all prudent men were exerting themselves strenuously to keep the impatient in hand, with excellent effect.

We cannot follow in detail the Pope's measures down to March, 1848, till which period the movement may be considered as all his own, emanating from his free choice, and not from the pressure of outward circumstances, or from revolutions in foreign states. He did enough during these twenty months to establish his character as a wise, humane, and liberal sovereign, eager to promote the temporal and religious interests of his people, and prompt to give political power into their hands as fast as they showed themselves capable of using, and not abusing it. He instituted a Civic Guard throughout his dominions, modelled on the French National Guard, and disbanded the Gregorian Centurions and Volunteers. All his Court was opposed to this measure as premature and dangerous; and even Cardinal Gizzi resigned his place in consequence of it. But the Pope persevered, and Cardinal Ferretti, still more inclined to liberalism, was appointed in his place. He conceived the idea of an Italian Customs' League, after the model of the German one, and pressed it with so much earnestness that, in November, 1847, it was instituted for the Roman, Tuscan, and Sardinian dominions, and every effort was made to render it acceptable to the other powers of Italy. He established a municipal government for the city of Rome, which had hitherto re-

mained without one; and he created a Council of State for all his dominions, to consist chiefly of the laity, one person being chosen for each Province by the sovereign, out of a list of three, nominated by the Provincial authorities. This Council was to sit in Rome, and aid the government with its advice in putting the various departments in order, in constituting municipalities, and in other public concerns. He created, also, a Council of Ministers, which Farini calls the most important act of his reign, "as being that by which the executive power acquired an organization worthy of a civilized state, and altogether novel in that of Rome." There were to be nine departments, and, with the exception of the President of the Council and its Secretary, "the Ministers *need not* be Cardinals." All those first appointed, however, were Cardinals or Prelates. A body of *Uditori* was attached to this Council, consisting of twelve ecclesiastics and twelve laymen, all appointed by the sovereign. The laws respecting the censorship of the press were much relaxed, and numerous political journals were established at Rome, which, before, had nothing that deserved the name of a newspaper. "Our infant journalism," says Farini, "had its infant passions and caprices; instead of meditating, it gambolled, and every day it smashed its toys of the day before, as children do; it instituted a school of declamation, not of political knowledge; it ran and plunged about, blindfold; it made boast of an independent spirit, and was a mean slave to out-of-doors influence."

These measures of reform, and the enthusiasm which they created, were not without effect on surrounding nations. Considering the place whence they came, and the sovereign who conducted them, they were adapted to have a vast influence. Rome, the Eternal City, was regenerated, and a new life bounded through her old limbs; and the august Head of the Catholic Church, the greatest religious potentate of the civilized world, the infallible, the object of veneration to half Christendom, and hitherto the most despotic and conservative sovereign in Europe, was now the daring innovator, the radical, the idol of the populace. Austria looked on with distrust and dismay, and tried to pick a quarrel, and thus find a pretext for invasion, by ordering its troops, who had as yet only garrisoned the fortress, to occupy the city, of Ferrara, and patrol

its streets, — a measure almost sure to lead to a collision with its citizens. The Pope protested in a firm but temperate tone, and his indignant people would fain have hurried him into a war. But he bridled their impatience, and the matter ended in a compromise. Tuscany caught the generous flame of freedom; and though there was not so much to be accomplished there, as the government had long been mild and discreet, the good Archduke professed the utmost admiration for Pius, and began to imitate his measures. The king of Sardinia was moved to enthusiasm; during the difficulty with Austria about Ferrara, he offered the Pope whatever succor of ships or men he might need, and an asylum in his dominions, if he should be compelled to leave Rome. He did more; he relaxed the bonds of the press, improved the administration of justice, deprived the police of their discretionary power, enlarged and amended the Council of State, emancipated the communes, and allowed their officers to be chosen by popular vote. The character and example of Pius seemed likely to effect as great and as beneficial changes out of his dominions as within them. Those of the Italian sovereigns who were not willing to follow his lead of their own accord, were obliged to yield in dismay before the spirit which he had awakened in their subjects. The silly Duke of Lucca, a fanatic, a prodigal, and a despot, after attempting in vain to cudgel his people into submission, fled in terror from their aroused wrath, and consented to the annexation of his dominions to Tuscany, whereby they shared in the reforms instituted by Leopold.

But in Sicily and Naples were developed the most striking results of the fire which had been kindled by a reforming Pope. The cruel and imbecile Bourbon who reigns there only became more harsh and obstinate, while the other princes of Italy deemed it necessary to reform their institutions and conciliate their people. His subjects petitioned him, and shouted for Pius in the streets; but the soldiery were turned against them, and the king showed himself alike inaccessible to their caresses and their prayers. "One king only," said Thiers from the tribune, speaking of Italy, "he of Naples, presented the sword's point to the people who were flocking around him, and that people fell on it." The impulsive Sicilians fixed the 12th of January, 1848, as the day beyond

which their patience would not extend. The king made no concessions, the day came, and the island was revolutionized, the troops everywhere giving way before the excited populace. Within a fortnight the inhabitants of Naples followed their example; and before the fight began, the king's heart failed him, and he granted all that they asked. The ministry were changed, a constitution was resolved upon, and its fundamental principles were announced on the 29th of January, while the administration pledged themselves to publish it complete within twelve days. The king came out to meet the crowd who were cheering him, and intimated his purpose to surpass the other sovereigns of Italy in the magnitude of his concessions. How sincere his promises were, the lapse of a few months fully showed; but for the present, every thing wore a cheerful aspect.

We have now reached the climax of the Pope's fortunes, the farthest limit of the good which he was permitted to accomplish by his own free-will, and the sky begins to be overcast. The enthusiasm of his people began to be unmanageable, and the volcanic force of another French revolution was soon to burst, and to prostrate half the governments in Europe by the explosion. Constant excitement for twenty months had made Rome noisy and turbulent, and the populace had been gratified so often that they now expected every thing to succumb to their wishes. Busy agitators were in the midst of them, intent upon prosecuting the plans of Mazzini and Young Italy, and turning reform into revolution. The people were mad for a declaration of war against Austria, though the military strength of the Roman States was grossly inadequate for such a conflict, and the head of the Catholic Church was naturally reluctant to come to extremities with a Catholic power, which had long been the firmest support of the Papacy. Then a cry was raised to exclude all ecclesiastics from office, or at least to admit so large a portion of the laity into the administration, that Rome would be secularized, and lose its distinctive character as an appanage for the head of the Church. The people would not consider, or were reckless of the fact, that Pius was a devout Catholic as well as a liberal sovereign, and could not be expected to lend his aid to a project for stripping the Papacy of all temporal power, if not for razing it to its foundations. The cries of expulsion

and death to the Jesuits were also raised; and as that body, however obnoxious elsewhere, had given no offence at Rome, where there was no scope for their machinations, the Pope's sense of justice inclined him to protect them, and to resist the unmeaning clamor of the mob.

The news from Sicily and Naples caused a great popular demonstration at Rome, the aspect of which was so threatening, that Pius issued a proclamation on the 10th of February, announcing that he had taken measures for reorganizing and enlarging the army, and for augmenting the lay portion of the Council of Ministers; but appealing to his people in affecting terms, by the proofs already given of his solicitude in their behalf, that they should cease from agitation, and not make demands which could not be granted consistently with his duty and their own well being. This paper caused another effusion of popular gratitude; an immense multitude collected in the Piazza del Papolo, and accompanied by the Civic Guard and by bands of music, and bearing banners, they set out for the Pope's palace. When they came to the Quirinal, Pius showed himself at the balcony, and made signs that he wished to speak. "There was a profound silence, not broken even by the trickling of the fountains, which had been stopped some days before." The Pope said, —

"Before the benediction of God descends upon you, on the rest of my people, and, I say it again, on all Italy, I pray you to be of one mind, and to keep the faith which you have sworn to me, the Pontiff."

"At these words, the silence of deep feeling was broken by a sudden thunder of acclamation, 'Yes, I swear,' and Pius proceeded:" —

"I warn you, however, against the raising of certain cries, that are not of the people, but of a few individuals, and against making any such requests to me as are incompatible with the sanctity of the Church; for these I cannot, I may not, and I will not grant. This being understood, with my whole soul, I bless you."

Deeds followed words; the ministry was changed, five laymen were admitted into it, and it was intimated that a Constitution would be granted resembling those in other states. Then came the news of the disastrous revolution at Paris, and every thing was precipitated. On the 10th of March, the

ministry was again changed, only three ecclesiastics being now admitted into it; and on the 14th, the new Constitution, or Fundamental Statute, was proclaimed. It instituted a legislature in two branches, the High Council and the Council of Deputies, the members of the former being appointed by the Pope, and those of the latter being chosen by popular vote, in the ratio, as nearly as might be, of one to every thirty thousand souls. All citizens were voters who paid twelve crowns a year in direct taxes, or had property amounting to 300 crowns; to these were added all members of colleges and honorary graduates, and all persons holding office in the communes and municipalities. The legislature was to be convoked every year, both Councils were to choose their own officers, and their sessions were to be public, except on extraordinary occasions, when they might of their own accord prefer secrecy. Freedom of debate and vote was guarantied, and the members of both houses were protected from arrest, even for notoriously criminal acts, during the session, except by consent of the Council to which they belonged. They were to have authority to make laws on all subjects, excepting ecclesiastical matters and the canons and discipline of the Church, but including the imposition of taxes; the Pope, however, like most monarchs, reserved to himself the right of negativing a law. All discussions, also, of the diplomatico-religious relations of the Holy See with foreign powers, were forbidden. Money bills were to originate in the lower house, and direct taxes could be granted for only one year. The Deputies had a right to impeach ministers, who, if they were laymen, were to be tried by the High Council, if ecclesiastics, by the Sacred College. The unlimited right of petition to the lower house was assured, and ministers were responsible for every ministerial act; they had the right of sitting and debating, but not of voting, in both Councils. A portion of the revenue of the state, for the support of the cardinals, the ecclesiastical congregations, and generally for the transaction of purely ecclesiastical business, was to be secured to the Pope, and to be borne on the estimates every year. The judges were to be irremovable after they had held office for three years; and all persons were declared equal in the sight of the law. Extraordinary Commissions or Tribunals for the trial of offences were abolished. All property, whether of individuals or cor-

porations, whether civil or ecclesiastical, was to be held subject to its equal part of the burdens of the state; and to all bills imposing taxes, the Pope would annex, of his own authority, a special waiver of the ecclesiastical exemption. The administrations of the Provinces and the Communes were placed in the hands of their respective inhabitants. The governmental or political censorship was abolished, but the ecclesiastical censorship was retained.

Such is a general outline of the Roman constitution spontaneously granted to his subjects by Pius IX. Its merits, in all civil or political matters, are certainly equal, if not superior, to those of the English constitution, from which, in great part, it was borrowed; its faults are precisely those which resulted necessarily from the Pope's double character, as temporal sovereign of the Roman States, and as Head of the Catholic Church throughout the world. It was not within the province, or at the discretion, of Pius, to alter the tenure by which he held his throne, to change the fundamental principles of the Church, or to abolish his ecclesiastical dominion. He granted to his subjects all that was in his power to grant as their temporal sovereign. His purely ecclesiastical relations and duties did not concern them, or concerned them only so far as they were members of the great body of Catholic believers in all lands. The College of Cardinals *must* choose the Pope, and *must* choose one of their own number; this is not a law of the Roman States, but a law of the Catholic Church. Pius could not abrogate it; and if he had been inclined to grant every thing to his people, by divesting himself of the last rag of his sovereignty, the only consequence would have been, that the Cardinals must have chosen another Pope in his place, who might undo all that Pius had accomplished.

These are obvious and necessary considerations; and the Pope expressly recognizes them in the ordinance accompanying the grant of the constitution. "We intend," he says, "to maintain intact our authority in matters that by their nature are related to the Catholic religion and its rule of morals. And this is due from us as a guaranty to the whole of Christendom, that, in the States of the Church reorganized in this new form, nothing shall be derogated from the liberties and rights of the Church herself, and of the Holy See, nor

any precedent be established for violating the sacredness of the religion which it is our duty and mission to preach to the whole world, as the only scheme of covenant between God and man, the only pledge of that heavenly benediction by which states subsist and nations flourish."

Now, it is worthy of note, that neither this Constitution, nor any of the acts of Pius under it, was ever complained of by any party among the Pope's subjects, except in regard to these ecclesiastical reservations, which were forced from him by the very nature of the office that he held. The constitutionalists, indeed, the moderate reformers, the party of Balbo, and Gioberti, and D'Azeglio, which comprised most of the educated and reflecting persons in the state, seem to have been entirely satisfied with it as a whole, or as it was. So also were the unthinking populace, who received it with shouts of exultation, so long as they were not moved by the arts of a party, who would not be satisfied with having a good Pope, but were bent upon having no Pope at all. This was the party of Mazzini, the revolutionists as distinguished from the reformers, — not strong at first either in numbers or credit, as we have seen, but who made up for all deficiencies by their zeal and activity, — who were determined to establish a republic, and who cared nothing for the embarrassments of the Pope's situation as head of the Church, or, indeed, for the Church itself. They complained, (and with reason, too, upon their principles,) of these ecclesiastical reservations; and they made out of them their chief weapon of attack upon the Pope's government, though they did not profit so much by the use of it, as by the evident unwillingness of Pius to rush into a war with Austria for the purpose of giving the sovereignty of Lombardy to Charles Albert, — a measure to which he was averse, because he thought such a conflict would be detrimental to the interests of the Church over which he presided.

The world's future judgment of Pius will depend upon its belief of the sincerity with which he acted in thus allowing nothing but his religious duties and his position as the head of the Church to limit his concessions of political privileges to his subjects. On this point, it is well to hear the opinion of Farini, who, as one of the Mamiani ministry, and as employed to mediate between them and the Pope, because

much loved and trusted by him, seems peculiarly qualified to form one without undue bias on either side.

"Pius IX. had applied himself to political reform, not so much for the reason that his conscience as an honorable man and a most pious sovereign enjoined it, as because his high view of the papal office prompted him to employ the temporal power for the benefit of his spiritual authority. A meek man and a benevolent prince, Pius IX. was, as a pontiff, lofty even to sternness. With a soul not only devout, but mystical, he referred every thing to God, and respected and venerated his own person as standing in God's place. He thought it his duty to guard with jealousy the temporal sovereignty of the Church, because he thought it essential to the safe-keeping and the apostleship of the Faith. Aware of the numerous vices of that temporal government, and hostile to all vice and all its agents, he had sought, on mounting the throne, to effect those reforms which justice, public opinion, and the times required. He hoped to give lustre to the Papacy by their means, and so to extend and to consolidate the Faith. He hoped to acquire for the clergy that credit, which is a great part of the decorum of religion, and an efficient cause of reverence and devotion in the people. His first efforts were successful in such a degree, that no Pontiff ever got greater praise. By this he was greatly stimulated and encouraged, and perhaps he gave in to the seduction of applause and the temptations of popularity, more than is fitting for a man of decision, or for a prudent Prince. But when, after a little, Europe was shaken by universal revolution, the work he had commenced was in his view marred; he then retired within himself, and took alarm. In his heart, the Pontiff always came before the Prince, the Priest before the citizen; in the secret struggles of his mind, the pontifical and priestly conscience always outweighed the conscience of the priest and citizen. And as his conscience was a very timid one, it followed that his inward conflicts were frequent, that hesitation was a matter of course, and that he often took resolutions even about temporal affairs more from religious intuition or impulse, than from his judgment as a man. Add that his health was weak and susceptible of nervous excitement, the dregs of his old complaint. From this he suffered most, when his mind was most troubled and uneasy; another cause of wavering and changefulness." Vol. ii. pp. 68, 69.

"Where he did not foresee or suspect injury to religion, he was in accordance with the friends of change. But every thing disturbed his mind and soul, which impugned or gave any token of impugning it, or imported disparagement to spiritual discipline or persons. And if from his vacillating nature, and his inborn

mildness, he did not adopt strong resolutions, which would have been proof of his uneasy thoughts and feelings, yet they wrought on him in secret, and he had no peace till he could find some way to set his conscience at ease. He had fondled the idea of making the people happy with guarded freedom, in harmony with their sovereigns, of bringing both into harmony with the Papal See, of a Popedom presiding over the league of Italian States; of internal repose and agreement; of civilizing prosperity, and of splendor for religion. But events, as they proceeded from day to day, shattered this design. When in the name of freedom and of Italy, and by the acts of the innovators, priests were insulted, excesses perpetrated, the Popedom or the ecclesiastical hierarchy assailed, Pius IX. ceased to trust them; then he began to regret and repent of his own work; then he doubted, whether by his mildness and liberality he had not encouraged a spirit irreverent to the Church, rebellious to the Popedom; then he complained of the ingratitude of mankind, faltered in his political designs, and prognosticated calamity." Vol. ii. pp. 70, 71.

Under the pressure of the extraordinary occurrences throughout Europe early in the spring of 1848, the Pope's new ministry under the Constitution proceeded vigorously and rapidly to give full development and efficiency to that instrument. They also expressed the wish for a firm union of the constitutional thrones of Italy with each other, with a view to insuring her independence; and they ordered the Papal banners to be decorated with pennons of the Italian tricolor. On the 21st of March, the news of the revolution at Vienna, much magnified by report, arrived, and the excitement of the Roman populace knew no bounds.

"Every bell in the city pealed for joy; from palace and from hovel, from magazine and workshop, the townspeople poured in throngs into the streets and squares; some took to letting off firearms, some to strewing flowers, some hoisted flags on the towers, some decked with them their balconies; everybody was shouting 'Italia! Italia!' and cursing the Empire. In an access of fury, the Austrian arms were torn down, dashed to pieces, and befouled amidst the applause of the crowd, and in spite of the dissuasion of the public functionaries and of prudent persons." Vol. ii. p. 7.

The hostility to the Jesuits now threatened to break out into violence; and for the double purpose of protecting them and appeasing the passions of the mob, the Pope consented that the schools which they had superintended should

be given into other hands, that their associations should be disbanded, and they should be exiled.

"The government perhaps had no choice, so swiftly and impetuously did the torrent of popular commotion roll. I will not then affirm, that the Pope and the government ought to have exposed to the last hazard the security of the State for an ineffectual defence of a hated fraternity. What I wish to observe is, that if there were, among the Jesuits, men stained with guilt and mischievous plotters, they ought to have been watched and punished as bad citizens; but it was incompatible with propriety or justice to condemn and punish a religious association, as such, in a place where the Pope held both his own seat and the supreme authority of the Church. None but the Pope had the power to condemn the society as a whole, and no condemnation but his could be just or valid in the opinion and conscience of the Catholics, or produce the desired political effects." Vol. ii. p. 19.

On the same day that the Jesuits were expelled, the Pope issued a noble proclamation, breathing the best spirit of religion. We annex a portion of it.

"*Pius Papa IX., to the People of the States of Italy, Health and Apostolic Benediction.*

"The events which the last two months have witnessed, following and thronging one another in such rapid succession, are no work of man. Woe to him that does not discern the Lord's Voice in this blast that agitates, uproots, and rends the cedar and the oak! Woe to the pride of man, if he shall refer these marvellous changes to any human merit or any human fault, instead of adoring the hidden designs of Providence, whether manifested in the paths of His justice, or of His mercy; or of that Providence, in whose hands are all the ends of the earth. And we, who are endowed with speech in order to interpret the dumb eloquence of the works of God, we cannot be mute, amidst the longings, the fears, and the hopes, which agitate the minds of our children.

"And first, it is our duty to make known to you, that if our heart has been moved at hearing how, in a part of Italy, the consolations of religion have preceded the perils of battle, and nobleness of mind has been displayed in works of charity, we nevertheless could not and cannot but greatly grieve over the injuries which, in other places, have been done to the Ministers of that same religion, — injuries which, even if, contrary to our duty, we were silent concerning them, our silence could not hinder from impairing the efficacy of our benedictions.

"Neither can we refrain from telling you that to use victory well is a greater and more difficult achievement, than to be victorious. If the present day recalls to you any other period of your history, let the children profit by the errors of their forefathers. Remember that all stability and all prosperity has its main earthly ground in concord; that it is God alone who maketh of one mind them that dwell in a house; that he grants this reward only to the humble and the meek, to those who respect His laws, in the liberty of His Church, in the order of society, in charity toward all mankind." Vol. ii. pp. 21, 22.

Shortly afterwards, another measure, emanating entirely from the Pope, and opposed by the prejudices of the mob, showed that his humane and liberal disposition and enlightened understanding waited for no impulse from without, and for no hope of increased popularity, before doing justice to a long oppressed race.

"The friends of social progress were highly gratified by the decision of Pius IX. to raze in Rome the walls and gates which shut up the Jews in the Ghetto. He had already, at the commencement of his Pontificate, softened some of the rigors with which they were afflicted, and had directed that they might spread beyond that ignominious precinct; nor, however great was the outcry about it among the mob, did he at any time forego the idea of bettering the condition of the followers of the Mosaic law.

"He was disposed to give them civil rights; and if he did not think of extending his concessions even to political privileges, yet he would give this as the main reason for it, that, in a constitutional country, every one who enjoys them may rise to the highest stages of power; whereas a Pope could not have any save Catholic Ministers. In the mean time, he raised them out of the abjectness of their isolation, although the Roman vulgar censured him for it bitterly, most of all because it took effect in the Holy Week. When it was known in the city, that the walls and fastenings of the Ghetto were to be pulled down at night, by order of the Cardinal Vicar, Ciceruacchio hastened with his companions, or subjects, to share in the work; and they shared in it so largely, that it seemed as though the thing were effected more as their boon than by the will of the Pope. Pius IX. was vexed at this; whether because noise had been made about what he wanted done quietly, or because it was brought about in such a manner, that it might seem the popular party had had more to say to it, than the authority of the Head of Religion."

Vol. ii. pp. 91, 92.

Rome fully shared the enthusiasm which was awakened throughout Italy by the entrance of the Piedmontese troops into Lombardy, and by the announcement by Charles Albert that he had drawn the sword in the sacred cause of Italian independence. His proclamation, in the stilted phrase common to such state papers, declared that he relied upon "the assistance of that God who is visibly with us; of that God who has given Pius IX. to Italy; of that God who, by such wondrous impulses, has placed her in a condition to act for herself."

And if she had acted for herself, if her deeds had been commensurate with her glorious words, the Austrian would never again have trodden any portion of the peninsula with the step of a master. But the zeal of the Italians for independence seems all to evaporate in high sounding manifestoes, and in a few excesses of the populace in the great cities. The inactivity of the Italian sovereigns may be explained by their imputed treachery or lukewarmness in the cause. But what prevented the people themselves from crowding the camp of Charles Albert with volunteers, at a time when not a crowned head in Italy durst offer the least open opposition to such a movement? The king of Naples, sorely against his will, sent his regular army, consisting of about 14,000 men, to fight for the cause, and withdrew them in about six weeks, as soon as a base act of treachery had given him the victory at home. General Pepe, their commander, wished to disobey the order and move forward; but "nearly the whole army turned its back on the Po and on him, and moved backward in the direction of the Neapolitan kingdom." Two hundred volunteers had previously set out from Naples for upper Italy, under the guidance and at the expense of an enthusiastic woman, the Princess Belgioioso.

"She had lived as an exile in France, and was at first enthusiastic for the *Giovine Italia;* she afterwards became averse to it, and sided with Guizot, Duchatel, and Mignet, her intimate friend. She was greatly versed, or mixed herself much, in literature, politics, the study of theology, and journalism; a woman that had some of the feelings and anxieties of men, together with all those of her own sex, and who was now travelling through Italy, intent upon manly business, but after woman's fashion. Other volunteers afterwards started, and a vessel set sail for Leghorn, which carried them, along with the tenth regiment of the line." Vol. ii. p. 32.

The Sicilians, at the same time, determined to separate entirely from Naples and the rest of the peninsula; "and thus all the ability and spirit, the arms and wealth, of that powerful island were applied to the effort for insular independence, and drawn off from that for the independence of the nation." From Tuscany, there went to this national war "about three thousand volunteers, and perhaps as many more regulars;" — a number so small that Farini apologizes for it, and endeavors to prove that it ought "not to be imputed to any lukewarmness in the affection for Italy." The army from the Roman States, which the Pope had set on foot, but hoped to retain as a defensive force within the northern boundary of his dominions, numbered about 16,000, of whom rather more than half were volunteers. The conduct of the people of Lombardy, who, though the conflict raged on their own soil, and their own freedom was immediately at stake, wasted their strength in quarrelling with each other instead of succoring Charles Albert, has long been a topic of wonder and censure. In short, all Italy did not furnish for this sacred war, so long the object of her aspirations and her prayers, a body of volunteers one fourth as large as the army which the king of Sardinia brought into the field, though it is probable that he was moved from the first only by the hope of personal aggrandizement. He invaded Lombardy with an army of 55,000 men, expecting thereby to win, with the aid of the national enthusiasm, the sceptre of all Italy for himself and his descendants. A terrible disappointment awaited him; instead of glory, shame and defeat were his portion; and having abdicated his paternal throne in despair, he died in exile, literally of a broken heart. Pius IX. was hardly more fortunate; to him, also, this fatal war brought dishonor and exile, the loss of the affection of his subjects, and of the admiration of the civilized world.

The reluctance of the Pope to engage, when unprovoked, in a war with Austria is no cause for wonder. He earnestly desired the welfare of his people and the independence of his native land; but all his desires were subject to the interests of the Church, of which he was the recognized head throughout Christendom. The republicans in his dominions, including Mazzini and his party, were aware of this reluctance, and determined to make use of it, and of the passions of the

people, in order to get rid of him altogether. No opportunity was lost to compromise him in the war, both in his temporal and ecclesiastical character; and the misfortune of his twofold position did not allow him to resist these machinations with success. General Durando, the commander of the Papal forces, issued a flaming proclamation to his army when they passed the Po, announcing to them that their swords were blessed by the venerable Head of the Church, and that they should all wear the cross on their bosoms, as beseemed those who were engaged in a holy war. This act naturally gave great uneasiness to the Pope, and Farini censures it as an unwise attempt to obtain the sanctions of religion for merely political objects, — the very conduct which the Liberal party had previously censured in their opponents. If Italian minds, he argues, "were not capable of warming with the simple fire of patriotism, for the noble and even holy enterprise of liberating Italy from the stranger, it was vain to hope that hearts so frozen up in indifference could kindle with religious faith."

"In the mean time, the Germans, who were speculating about the unity of their own stock and nation, and were straining every nerve in that difficult enterprise, could not excuse the desire of independence in the Italians, and contended for the boasted rights of Austria and Germany over the lands and the coasts of Italy, with the people that inhabit them. When it became known in Germany that the Pontifical troops were hastening to the legitimate defence of Italy, it greatly affected the public feeling, and the name of Pius IX. was branded with censure, not by laymen only, but by some bishops and high ecclesiastics. Monsignor Viale, Nuncio at Vienna, and Monsignor Sacconi, Nuncio at Munich, were assiduous and eager in detailing the sinister reports touching Rome and the Pope, and colored them in such a way as to create an apprehension of schism, the most serious one that could arise for a Pope, and that Pope, too, Pius IX. He had, before this, as I have said, been greatly troubled by the proclamation of General Durando; still he had hoped, that the Italian League would be shortly concluded, and that, when he had furnished the quota of troops that might be due from him as a temporal sovereign, he would then have been able, in the capacity of Pontiff, to use those good offices which he considered requisite to assure the consciences of Catholics." Vol. ii. pp. 93, 94.

Even the news of some reverses to the Italian arms in Lombardy failed to awaken a proper feeling among the inhabitants

of central and southern Italy; and our patriotic author thus censures the slothfulness and vanity of his countrymen.

"Few gave credit or importance at the time to this and other sinister intelligence; the greater part of those who beheld the first marvellous smiles of fortune relied upon the star of Italy, and thought the Empire was dismembered. We Italians are too susceptible of the impulses of passion, and of heat in the imagination; with a small matter we are drunken, and think to leap over the moon. Deadly intoxication, most deadly fault, that of undervaluing an enemy, which lets our enthusiasm too easily evaporate, and gives him every facility for showing that he is as gallant as we are, and more resolute; that he has much of perseverance and of discipline, qualities more effectual and valuable than simple courage. It comes to this; we must either send about their business the dreams of poets, and educate ourselves in those severe and masculine virtues, or must yet remain long in a position to chant many more elegies to assuage our sorrow than hymns of triumph; we must either rest assured that with the tenacious, the disciplined, and the resolute, only the tenacious, disciplined, and resolute can cope, and must therefore leave off despising the Austrians, and imitate them in their steadiness and their attention to the military spirit; or else, we must be doomed to the disgrace of seeing them masters of our country. A stern truth; but the only one that an Italian freeman can utter to Italians free in mind. He who wants compliments and adulation may fling these volumes from him." Vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

The ministry at Rome, driven onward by the popular clamor, represented to the Pope in strong terms the necessity of sending orders to his army to take an active part in the war; for they had not yet commenced hostilities with the Austrians. A Consistory of the Cardinals was to be held on the 29th of April; and it was feared that Pius would take that occasion for declaring that he was averse to the war, and thus pacifying the minds of the Catholics in Germany. The Allocution of the Pope realized these fears, though it only expressed his wish to remain neutral, and "to embrace all kindreds, peoples, and nations with equal solicitude of paternal affection." But the ministry resigned in consequence, and great disturbances arose in the city; the populace were not willing themselves to volunteer for the war, but they were determined that the Pope should not continue a man of peace. The Civic Guard were placed under arms, but it was soon found that they shared the feelings of the people,

and no reliance could be placed upon them. Threats were uttered of assassinating the Cardinals, and others cried out "to make short work, as they called it, with the government of the priests, those traitors to Italy, and to place Rome under popular sway." To avert bloodshed, the Pope consented to a compromise; he gave up the entire direction of his troops to Charles Albert, and published, of his own accord, without the knowledge of his ministers, an affecting remonstrance to his people. We copy a portion of it.

"All are aware of the words pronounced by us in our last Allocution, namely, that we are averse to declaring war; but at the same time, we avow our inability to restrain the ardor of that portion of our subjects, which is stirred by the spirit of nationality in common with the rest of Italy. And here we will not withhold from you, that, even under these circumstances, we have not forgotten the prayers of a father and sovereign, and have provided, in the mode we thought most effectual, for the greatest attainable security to those of our children and subjects, who now, without our will, find themselves exposed to the vicissitudes of war. Our words above-mentioned have, however, given rise to a commotion which threatens to break out into acts of violence, and which, not even respecting personal inviolability, and trampling on every right, attempts, (O great God, our heart is frozen in uttering it!) to bathe the streets of the capital of the Catholic world in the blood of venerable individuals, marked out for victims, guiltless as they are, to satiate the ungovernable thirst of those who will not hear to reason. And is this then, the reward that a Sovereign Pontiff was to expect for the multiplied indications of his love towards his people? *Populo meus, quid feci tibi?* Do not these unhappy beings perceive, that, besides the enormous crime with which they would be stained, and the incalculable scandal they would give to the whole world, they would only injure the cause they make pretentions to conduct, while filling Rome, these States, and all Italy with an infinite train of evils? And in these or the like contingencies, (which may God avert!) how could the spiritual power, that he has given us, remain idle in our hands? Let all know, once for all, that we are conscious of the greatness of our office and the efficacy of our power.

"Preserve, O Lord, thine own Rome from such catastrophes! enlighten those who will not hearken to the voice of thy Vicar! reclaim all to a sounder mind! so that, in obedience to their ruler, they may spend their days the more happily in the discharge of their duties as good Christians, without which they cannot be either good subjects or good citizens." Vol. ii. pp. 123, 124.

Pius also wrote an earnest letter to the Emperor of Austria, entreating him to put a stop to the war by acknowledging the indepencence of Venetia and Lombardy. "Let not the generous German nation take it ill," he said, "if we invite them to lay resentment aside, and to convert into the beneficial relations of friendly neighborhood a domination which could never be prosperous or noble while it depended solely on the sword." But the prayers of the Pope had now little influence either with the Emperor or with his own subjects; he had long ago forfeited the favor of the absolutists by his political reforms, and he had now lost the love of his people by his reluctance to gratify their passion for war. Yet if he had basely yielded to their wishes, against his judgment and his conscience, he would only have injured the cause of the Papacy in foreign lands, and the issue of the war would not have been changed. As it was, his troops were actively engaged in the contest till the time of their capture at Vicenza by the Austrians. The fatal blow was given to the hopes of Italy by the king of Naples withdrawing his troops at a critical moment, when their loss could not be replaced. Their departure, and the consequent capture of the Papal army under Durando at Vicenza, enabled the Austrians to turn their whole force against the Piedmontese, who were then defeated and driven back. The disgraceful capitulation at Milan followed, and the cause of United Italy was lost forever. Brilliant as its promise had been at the outset, the revolution of 1848 terminated as pitifully as did those of 1820 and 1831; and for its disastrous issue, the Italians have none to blame but themselves.

Misfortunes and defeat had their usual effect in inflaming the rage of parties. The personal influence of the Pope could no longer keep the passions of the citizens in check, and the clubs now governed Rome with absolute sway. The party of Mazzini, bent on trying the experiment of a republic at all hazards, began to show its head after a long period of inefficiency and discouragement, and every day acquired new adherents and stronger influence. One ministry after another tried in vain to steer the ship of state on an even course, between the opposite perils of the domination of a mob and the rigorous enforcement of the laws. The Pope tried for some months the experiment of a popular administration,

under Mamiani, of whom our author says, "he seemed to play the part of a tribune of the people more than of the Pope's minister." Still, he was an honest man, opposed to violence, to tumult, and to all excesses, though he paid too much deference to the clubs, which were now as turbulent and mischievous as their Parisian prototypes. The acts of his ministry were not numerous, Farini says, for the character of the times would not admit of dispassionate inquiries and solid reforms. In truth, the energies of government were exhausted in a vain attempt to keep the peace in the city, which was now a constant scene of turbulence aud disorder. Bologna, also, having successfully repelled an unauthorized attack made upon it by the Austrians under Welden, had become a prey to the wildest confusion, owing to the continuance there of the irregular bands of armed men who had contributed to its defence. At the urgent request of the Bolognese deputies, the ministry determined to send thither one of their own number, to aid in restoring order; and Farini, the author of these volumes, was deputed for this purpose. The following is a portion of his account of what he saw there, and what he accomplished.

"In the streets and open places of the city, for two days, the brigands had been slaughtering every man his enemy among the Government officers, some of them indeed disreputable and sorry fellows, others respectable. They killed with musket-shots, and if the fallen gave signs of life, they reloaded their arms in the sight of the people and the soldiers, and fired them afresh, or else put an end to their victims with their knives. They hunted men down like wild beasts, entered their houses, and dragged them forth to slaughter. One Bianchi, an inspector of police, was lying in bed, reduced to agony by consumption; they came in, set upon him, and cut his throat in the presence of his wife and children; the corpse, a frightful spectacle, remained in the public streets. I saw it, saw death dealt about, and the abominable chase. Cardinal Amat, who had given notice of his arrival, came the day after; and the armed commons escorted him to the palace, at the very time when the villains were continuing their murders. There were no longer any judges, or any officers of the police; those who had escaped death either had fled or had hidden themselves; the Civic Guard was disarmed, the citizens skulked, the few soldiers of the line either mixed with the insurgents, or were wholly without spirit; the Carabineers and dragoons in hesitation, the volunteer legions and free corps

a support to the rioters, not to the authority of Government. We sent to Rome for leave to declare Bologna in a state of siege; but the answer was, that the ministry, having taken the opinion of the Council of State considered that order might be restored without recourse to this extreme measure. All our best exertions were made to draw to the side of Government the Carabineers and dragoons, as also Bellezzi and the honest leaders of the people, but with little success. It was reported, that Bellezzi himself had given leave to kill those whom they called the spies; one Masina came before us, proposing, by way of compromise, to banish those whose lives were threatened; armed men were in the very palace of Government, and we ourselves at their mercy. Accident, however, effected at a stroke what we could only have done slowly and with difficulty. An assassin attempted the life of a Carabineer; his companions, inflamed with anger, pursued him, and caught him in a church. They then volunteered their most resolute efforts at repression. They were ordered to sally forth, arrest, and disarm the ruffians. The dragoons seconded them; young Pepoli, commandant of the Civic Guard, mustered a few companies; Bianchetti and the respected citizens of the Committee of Public Safety drew close around us, and we hurried in the Swiss from Forli. The population began to regain its courage, and to applaud the Carabineers as they arrested the assassins; the Swiss made their entry amid cheers." Vol. ii. pp. 335, 336.

The disturbances at Bologna were quelled; but the bonds of law and order throughout the Papal States were now loosened, and it became evident that a more determined minister must be placed at the helm, or the experiment of the existing form of government must be abandoned in despair. A republic or a return to the old principles of despotism would then be inevitable. In this emergency, the eyes of the Pope and of all prudent persons at Rome were turned to Rossi, who, since the fall of Louis Philippe's government, from which he had been ambassador to the Roman States, had resided there as a private citizen, taking no active share in politics, but often consulted by both parties, owing to his high reputation for sagacity and firmness. Exiled on account of his liberal opinions by Gregory, he had laid the foundations of his fame at Paris, where he successively became professor, peer, and ambassador, and was highly esteemed by all parties as a writer and a statesman. Once before, Pius had solicited him to form a ministry; but he had declined, because con-

scious that the affections of the populace were not with him, and he judged that the minds even of the better portion of the citizens were not yet prepared for a resolute attempt to carry on a constitutional government by firm measures. He suggested to the Pope that he was probably odious to the Court, on account of his previous employments and his writings; that some would perhaps look very coldly on a minister who had married a Protestant wife; and that the French Republic might be displeased if he should hold a high post at Rome. But in the middle of September, the solicitations of the Pope and of many respectable persons in the state became so urgent, that Rossi consented to serve; the opinion was universal, that no other person possessed the requisite abilities, character, and experience to carry on the government at this perilous crisis; and that, if he failed, all indeed was lost. He selected for his colleagues men of liberal politics, but temperate in their opinions. He announced his intention to carry into effect the Fundamental Statute, in all its parts, according to constitutional usage; to counteract and repress both the parties opposed to that instrument; to abolish exemptions, restore the finances, and reorganize the army; to conclude a league with Piedmont and Tuscany, even if it should be impossible with Naples; and to fix the contingent of troops which the Pope was to supply, so that he need not in any other way mingle with the war.

The turbulent and the presumptuous, "the magistrates accustomed to fatten upon abuses, the Sanfedists who made a livelihood of disorder, and the clergymen greedy of gold and honors, could ill bear that Pelligrino Rossi should have the authority of a minister." But those who knew the real condition of affairs, and that, unless the finances were improved and public discipline and order restored, all would go to wreck, counted it great gain that he should take charge of the debilitated State. "The dissatisfied were more numerous and noisy in the capital; the contented stronger in the provinces, especially at Bologna, where an educated community wished for a liberal system, with a government strong in the strength of the law; where the recent terrible events had filled every mind with horror; and where Rossi, the proscribed of 1815, was dear to memory, and rooted in public esteem."

The Roman legislature was to meet again in the middle of

November, so that the new minister was chiefly occupied with maturing the measures which were to be laid before it for adoption. His public acts, therefore, were few; but they were enough to show that new wisdom and vigor directed the course of affairs. He obtained the Pope's consent that the clergy should make a new contribution of two millions of crowns to the State, on the strength of which he obtained a new loan, and punctually paid the interest on the public debt. He invited General Zucchi home from Switzerland, to take the command of the army, which rapidly improved in discipline under his energetic guidance. He distributed medals to those who had been wounded, and to the families of the slain, at Vicenza. He established two lines of telegraph, one to Ferrara by the way of Bologna, and another to Civita Vecchia. The negotiations with Sardinia and Tuscany for an Italian League were advanced nearly to completion. Chairs of political economy and commercial law were founded in the universities at Rome and Bologna. Towards the close of October, the mob rose in Rome, on occasion of a squabble between a Jew and a Catholic, and threatened to sack the Ghetto and maltreat its inhabitants. Rossi hurried the Civic Guard and the Carabineers to the spot, allayed the tumult, arrested and imprisoned some of its ringleaders, and published an energetic proclamation to warn the turbulent that the laws would be enforced.

"All these proceedings excited the anger of Rossi's enemies, the journalists, the captains of the people, and the Roman clubs." There was no opprobrium that was not heaped upon him, no charge that was not levelled at the government. But these declamations seemed to have little effect on the body of the people. On the morning of the 15th of November, when the legislature was to commence its session, though knots of persons were seen talking in the streets with excited countenances, there was no outbreak or popular tumult. Rossi had received many anonymous letters, in which his life was threatened, but he scorned to take any notice of them. This morning, one came which directly affirmed that he would be assassinated in the course of the day; and he threw it into the fire. The regulation of the police, now that the day of the session had arrived, belonged to the President of the Council of Deputies; and Rossi, punctilious in the observance of the

constitution, refused to give them any orders. Several of his friends came and remonstrated with him against such an exposure of his life. "To all this he answered, that he had taken the measures which he thought suitable for keeping the seditious in order, and that he could not, on account of risk that he might personally run, forego repairing to the Council according to his duty; that perhaps these were idle menaces; but if any one thirsted for his blood, he would have the means of shedding it elsewhere on some other day, even if, on that day, he should lose his opportunity. He would therefore go." He was elated by the confidence which the Pope had in him, and expected both trust and aid from the Parliament, to which he was so soon to explain his ideas and intentions.

"When the ordinary hour of the parliamentary sitting, which was about noon, arrived, the people began to gather in the Square of the *Cancellaria*, and by degrees in the court-yard, and then in the public galleries of the hall. Shortly all were full. A battalion of the Civic Guard was drawn up in the Square; in the court and hall, there was no guard greater than ordinary. There were, however, not a few individuals, armed with their daggers, in the dress of the volunteers returned from Vicenza, and wearing the medals with which the municipality of Rome had decorated them. They stood close together, and formed a line from the gate up to the staircase of the palace. Sullen visages were to be seen, and ferocious imprecations heard, among them. During the time when the Deputies were slowly assembling, and business could not commence, because there was not yet a *quorum* present, a cry for help suddenly proceeded from the extremity of the public gallery, on which every one turned thither a curious eye; but nothing more was heard or seen, and those who went to get some explanation of the circumstances returned without success.

"In the mean time, Rossi's carriage entered the court of the palace. He sat on the right, and Righetti, Deputy-Minister of Finance, on the left. A howl was raised in the court and yard, which echoed even into the hall of the Council. Rossi got out first, and moved briskly, as was his habit in walking, across the short space which leads from the centre of the court to the staircase on the left hand. Righetti, who descended after him, remained behind, because the persons were in the way who caused the outcry, and who, brandishing their cutlasses, had surrounded Rossi, and were loading him with opprobium. At this moment might be seen amidst the throng the flash of a poniard, and then

Rossi losing his feet, and sinking to the ground. Alas! he was spouting blood from a broad gash in the neck. He was raised by Righetti, but could hardly hold himself up, and did not articulate a syllable; his eyes grew clouded, and his blood spirted in a copious jet. Some of those, whom I named as clad in military uniform, were above upon the stairs; they came down, and formed a ring about the unhappy man; and when they saw him shedding blood and half lifeless, they all turned, and rejoined their companions. He was borne, amidst his death struggle, into the apartments of Cardinal Gazzoli, at the head of the stairs on the left side; and there, after a few moments, he breathed his last.

"In the hall of the Council, a kind of stir had been perceptible since that cry for help was heard, and since the din which had risen from below; when some Deputies were seen to enter, with countenances expressive of horror, and others, who were physicians or surgeons, such as Fabbri, Fusconi, Pantaleoni, to go out in haste; at the same time, a report ran round the galleries, that Rossi had been wounded. Each man then began to question his neighbor with ears intent, and by look and gesture seek for information; one hurriedly goes out, another as hurriedly comes in; one mounts from hall to gallery, another descends from gallery to hall; the uncertainty still continues, the breathlessness is prolonged; some give the lie to the fatal rumor, others again declare the Minister not to be wounded only, but dead. Some of those present rose to demand an account of what had happened, and a reason for the stir; to which a Deputy replied, they could not tell; then, after a while, the President Sturbinetti takes the chair, and though scarcely twenty-five Deputies were present, orders the minutes of the last sitting to be read. A low buzz may now be heard; the Secretary begins to read, the Deputies stand unheeding and absorbed, or go forth; the galleries grow thin, and soon the hall is void and mute. Not one voice was raised to protest before God and man against the enormous crime! Was this from fear? Some have thought to term it prudence; by foreign nations it is named disgrace.

"I was no longer a Deputy at the time, but, as an eye-witness to the facts, I can now speak the truth with a mind free from prejudice of whatever kind. Possibly it was terror, disguised as prudence, and whitewashed with imperturbability, in him who desired the record of the last sitting to be read. There was no legal meeting; no motion could be made; the few Deputies, taken by surprise and incensed, almost all went out on the instant, prompted with sympathy for Rossi, whom they thought wounded, but not dead. One worthless voice alone was heard to cry, 'Why all this fuss? one would think he was king of Rome.' Truly,

some other voice might have cried, 'Out upon such infamy!' and shame it was, that no such voice was heard.

"In leaving the palace of the *Cancellaria*, one met some faces stark with an hellish joy, others pallid with alarm, many townspeople standing as if petrified, agitators running this way and that, Carabineers the same; one kind of men might be heard, muttering imprecations on the assassin, but the generality faltered, in broken and doubtful accents; some, horrible to relate, cursed the murdered man. Yes, I have still before my eyes the livid countenance of one, who, as he saw me, shouted, 'So fare the betrayers of the people!' But the city was in the depths of gloom, as under the swoop of calamity and the scourge of God; and wherever there were respectable persons, though of liberal and Italian principles, they were horror-struck, and called for the resolute exertions of the authorities." Vol. ii. pp. 405, 409.

When the terrible news came to the Pope, he was struck with horror and dismay, but yet strove to rally the other members of the government around him, and preserve the state from anarchy. But his efforts were miserably seconded; one person after another declined taking office, or continuing in it; and even when the Presidents of the two Councils were summoned, they had little advice to give. On the morrow, the tidings came that a mob was on its way towards the Quirinal, some of the Carabineers having fraternized with them, to enforce the appointment of a democratic ministry, and a declaration in favor of a Constituent Assembly for all Italy. Only a few Swiss, the ordinary guard of honor, were on duty; but they shut the gates of the palace, and nobly declared that their own bodies should be piled up behind them before the rioters should enter. Galletti, the former minister of police, acted as spokesman of the mob, and when admitted to an audience, he stated their demands. The Pope indignantly declared that he would not yield to violence, but must deliberate in freedom. This answer only inspired the insurgents with fresh fury, so that they pressed forward to the gates, set one of them on fire, and, mounting upon the roofs of the neighboring houses, opened a fire upon the walls and windows of the Quirinal. The few Swiss fired in return; and then the cry ran through the city that the Pope's guards were butchering the people, and already there were many slain. Within the palace, many advised Pius to yield, a few still spoke of resistance, and the foreign ministers, who were

collected there, had no scheme to offer. "The scuffle continues; the worthy prelate, Monsignor Palma, falls dead by the window of his own apartment; balls reach the ante-chamber of the Pope." At last, Pius turned to the diplomatic body, who stood around him, and said, "There is no further hope in resistance. Already a prelate is slain in my very palace, shots are aimed at it, artillery levelled. To avoid fruitless bloodshed, and increased enormities, we give way; but it is, as you see, only to force. Therefore we protest; let the Courts, let your Governments, know it. We give way to violence alone, and all we concede is invalid, is null and void." Galletti was then asked to propose his list of ministers, from which the Pope indignantly struck out the name of the Neapolitan Salicetti, but admitted without a word the names of Sterbini, Lunati, and Galletti. Their appointment was signed on the spot, and the news being told to the insurgents, "they fired their muskets in token of joy, and went off with hymns for Italy, and cheers for the Italian Constituent Assembly and the democratic ministry."

The next day, the club desired that the Swiss should be deprived of their arms, and dismissed from the Quirinal; the Pope complied. The Club then asked that Galletti should be named General of the Carabineers; and he was appointed. "Such was the poltroonery, or such the depravity, of consciences, that no journal would, or dared, denounce the murder. But why do I speak of denouncing? The murder was honored with illuminations and festivities in numerous cities, and not in these States only, but beyond them; especially at Leghorn." The Councils met on the 18th and 20th, but not a word was said of the murder, and even a proposition for giving assurance to the Pope "of the devotion and unalterable affection of the Deputies" was voted down. Three of the Bolognese Deputies, and a few others, then indignantly resigned their seats, and assigned their reasons for this step in addresses to their constituents.

Early on the night of the 25th, the Pope secretly left the Quirinal, entered a carriage prepared for him by the wife of the Bavarian ambassador, and went into exile from that city which, within two years and a half, had worshipped, scorned, and assaulted him.

ART. III. — *The Lives of the Chief Justices of England; from the Norman Conquest till the Death of Lord Mansfield.* By JOHN LORD CAMPBELL, LL. D., F. R. S. E. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1851. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE Chief Justiceship was a Norman institution, first brought into England by the Conqueror, who did all in his power to impose the feudal system of Normandy upon the more simple and democratic polity of the Anglo-Saxons. In accordance with that system, he centralized the power of the law as well as that of the sword. Under the Anglo-Saxon *régime*, the administration of the law was parcelled among the shires, hundreds, tithings, and other divisions of the land, each of which had its court. This federal system, as it may be called, existed in the island for centuries, growing indigenously, like the forest trees, and undisturbed, to any revolutionary extent, by Continental influences. In spite of the Norman rule, operating through generations, (and operating still,) the Anglo-Saxon element lived and grew strong with the people, and came at last to its proper supremacy, like the blood of Edgar Atheling. The old military principle of centralization is seen at work in France and the other governments of Europe; and we can estimate how society there has prospered under it, and how it is likely to prosper.

William the Norman, described by Byron in the opening of his unwritten Epic, as

> "The Child of Love, and Lord of War —
> Him who made England bow to Normandy,
> And left the name of Conqueror, more than King,
> To his unconquerable dynasty" —

instituted in England a central Court of Law for the whole kingdom, of which court he was himself the head, and his household servants the assistants. Thus the Seneschal, the Chamberlain, and Treasurer, were made Judges; and as the king could not always sit in person, he made a substitute, and called him Chief of the King's Hall or Court. This officer was a sort of viceroy in this legal sense, and in the king's absence he was generally so in every sense. He took precedence of the nobility, was guardian of the public peace, and had control over the finances of the kingdom. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the Conqueror's half-brother, was the first of these

Chief Justiciars,— a bold, turbulent man, uniting in himself the functions of the lawyer, the priest, and the soldier. On the morning of the battle of Hastings, he first said mass for the troops, wearing a coat of mail under his rochet, then took a truncheon, drew up the cavalry, and charged Harold's line at the head of it. In conformity with the amiable legend, *non novit Ecclesia sanguinem*, he would use only a mace, long and shod with iron, in the *mêlée*. He did his brother good service in the field, but otherwise gave him a great deal of trouble. The king was at last obliged to banish him, for attempting to lead the English barons and their retainers into Italy for the purpose of taking Rome, deposing his Holiness, and making the bold Odo Pope in his stead! This was not so very insane a project as it would seem; for Guiscard and his followers were at that time lords of Sicily, and the Normans threatened to overpower the whole Italian peninsula. William, perceiving that Odo's scheme would weaken his forces in England, as yet a sort of garrison in the country, arrested his brother with his own hand, as no one else would dare to do it, and banished him. On the Conqueror's death, the bishop returned and plotted the succession of Robert, the true heir to the crown. But Rufus took his turbulent uncle prisoner, and sent him out of the kingdom. Odo went wandering from court to court, and died at Palermo.

The Conqueror had several other Justiciars. One was his relative, Fitzosborne, steward of the household, or "Dapifer." The latter, once bringing a crane, William's favorite dish, only half roasted, to table, the large-stomached old king, incensed and disappointed, made a blow at "Dapifer," which drove him from court for a long time. Another Chief Justiciar was William Warrenne, who, when asked to show his title to his manors, held up his sword, and said, England was conquered for William's peers as well as for himself. This Warrenne took some lands from the monks of Ely, for which reason, the good abbot saw him afterwards, in a dream, carried away by the Devil, and calling out, "Lord have mercy upon me!" Westminster Hall was built at this time, near the site of a Saxon monastery, lying a little to the west of London. In the reign of Stephen, Henry Plantagenet, afterwards king Henry II., held the office of Justiciar for some time. In his own reign, the Justiciar Richard de Lacy

was chiefly instrumental in drawing up the Constitutions of Clarendon, by which Henry, tormented by Saint Thomas à Becket, (whom he found to be, like David I. of Scotland, "a sore saint for the crown,") attempted to repress the influence of Rome in his kingdom. In 1180, Ranulf de Glanville, "equally distinguished as a lawyer, a statesman and a soldier," was Chief Justiciar. As High Sheriff of Yorkshire, he had taken William the Lion, king of Scotland, prisoner in a border skirmish. He composed, by order of king Henry, and published (of course by transcription) a Latin treatise, first printed in 1554, on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England. In this book, the object of which, he says, is to instruct not only the professional, but the general, reader, he speaks of the English laws as *yet unwritten;* and gives precedents and full details of the practice in the *Aula Regis*, explaining the difficulties and subtleties of the Norman system of jurisprudence. Laying down the law in a suit for land, he says that cases may be decided either by "assize," or trial of battle. The demand being made, the defendant could either argue the matter out, or fight it out. Or he could procure a champion; but the champion should be a reputable man, take no reward, and, if beaten, never officiate for any one else; though he might do battle for his own right. Accusations of treason were also to be decided by duel, somewhat after the form and manner described by Shakspeare in Richard the Second. It seems curious that Glanville, for this book and his other services, should be created "Dapifer," — *dish-bearer* or *feast-bringer*, — by way of crowning dignity. But so it was. Indeed, the highest English names have originated in the household offices of feudal kings and chiefs, such as Stewart or Steward; Le Despencer, or Spencer, meaning steward, also; Botiller, or Butler, the bottle-officer; Ferrers, the horse-shoer; Napier, the keeper of the linen; Coke, the ruler of the kitchen; and "Dapifer" has not been perpetuated in any family name, that we know of. The term "dapper," formerly applied to waiters and servants, may have some connection with it.

Glanville opposed the aggressive spirit of the Church of Rome in England, but listened to its voice when raised for the Crusades. Though well stricken in years, and having children and grandchildren, he took the Cross, the scrip, and the

staff; and, on the death of Henry II., went to France, and took shipping from Marseilles for Palestine. Nothing more was ever heard of him, except that he died about a year afterwards, at the siege of Acre. The *iters* or *eyres* of the justices, in the times of Odo and Glanville, were certainly somewhat of the longest. In 1193, during the absence of Richard I., his Justiciar, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, had occasion to deal with one of the earliest of the English demagogues, — a lineal ancestor, by metempsychosis, of Jack Straw. This was William Longbeard, who, having some Saxon blood in his veins, tried to raise a rebellion of the English against the government. He attended various *folkmotes*, and it is said that upwards of 50,000 Saxons agreed to join him. But the Archbishop's men set upon him in London, had him taken from sanctuary by smoking him out of the belfry of Bow Church, and dragged at a horse's tail to Tyburn, where he was hanged. The chroniclers afterwards spoke of Longbeard as a *heretic.* The Pope was scandalized at the breach of sanctuary — of course, not from any great love of *Longobardus* — and procured the dismissal of Hubert from his office of Justiciar. The truth was, the Popes had previously forbidden ecclesiastics to fill secular offices in any country, lest their interest in the concerns of the state should wean them from their spiritual allegiance to Rome, the city of their souls.

In the reign of John, Peter de Rupibus, a native of Poictiers, was Justiciar. Peter gave pretty exclusive employment to his Norman friends; whereupon the barons and others, calling themselves *natives*, denounced the foreigners. Peter mistook his generation; he should have lived in his grandfather's time. Roger Bacon, whose name shows him to have been of Norman stirp, denounced Peter in the gunpowder spirit that became him. He also made a pun on the enemy, saying that he who steers the vessel of the state should avoid *petræ* and *rupes* — rocks and breakers. Peter assumed the Cross, fought in Palestine, came home, and took to his old anti-native courses; whereupon the same barons who said *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, procured his excommunication and banishment. He went to Italy, gained a battle for the Pope, was restored to his bishopric of Worcester, and died episcopally. Hubert de Burgh, with whom he had

carried on a long and various rivalry, succeeded him. Hubert ruled with a high hand in England and Ireland.

At that time, began the more decided struggle between the King, Henry III., and the barons, which continued till Prince Edward (Longshanks) defeated Simon de Montfort, at the battle of Evesham, in 1265. De Burgh enriched himself by grants of forfeitures, escheats, and wardships, and joined the King in doing away with the "Charter of the Forest," under which the nobles and the commonalty enjoyed many rights of forestry and commonage. A general discontent was excited against him; he was removed from his office, and proclamation being made that any one who could accuse him of *malfaisance* should come forward, he took refuge in the Priory of Merton, and afterwards in the church of Boisars, whence he was taken by violence. But, by order of the baron-bishop of Winchester, who feared the Pope, Hubert was taken back to the church, and religiously starved into surrender. Finally, he was forced to give up his strongest castles, and disgorge a great many manors, besides vacating his office of Chief Justiciar. He died in retirement, in 1243, leaving his *inn* at Westminster to the Church of the Black Friars. It was afterwards known as the residence of the Archbishops of York, and then as Whitehall.

The next two Justiciars, Hugh Bigod and Hugh le Despencer, found themselves on the side of the barons, and in opposition to the Crown. This struggle, which continued till the Tudor sovereigns broke the power of the English baronage, resulted, at the time of which we are speaking and subsequently, in the increased influence of the third element of the British constitution. There is no need of giving the barons any great credit for their Magna Charta, provisions of Oxford, and so forth; they only fought and argued for their own order, and those who were almost entirely their own retainers or dependents. Lord Chatham used to say, that *Nullus liber homo*, &c., "was worth all the classics." But that misused word, *liber*, marks a distinction, which detracts from the merit of that lordly manifesto. There were, indeed, *villeins* in England, for whom it was not written. Thus, Simon de Montfort, the head of the barons, only looked to *their* interests when he summoned, towards the end of Henry's reign, the representatives of counties and burghs to meet

in the parliament of the nobles. This parliament had been hitherto only a Council, in which barons and ecclesiastics advised with the kings. But the increase of population and trade had now given landholders and burghers an influence in the state, which helped the peers to counterbalance the power of the crown.

Simultaneously with this change of policy, the administration of justice underwent an alteration, and the circumstances of the kingdom prepared the way for the legal improvements introduced by Edward I., called the English Justinian. This prince perceived, by the defection of the two last Justiciars, that their high office could be made dangerous to the Crown, by reason of the powers vested in it; and he therefore determined to include it in the system of reforms which the great confusion of the kingdom made absolutely necessary. He decided that the Chief of the *Aula Regis* should no longer exercise the functions of statesman, priest, and soldier. Indeed, this reformation was begun by Henry III., who, at the close of his reign, changed the style of the Justiciar, Robert de Brus. Thus the succession of the high-reaching nobles and baron-bishops — the Odos, De Burghs, Despencers, and Bigods — which had continued for two hundred years, came to an end; and the toga was no longer made to cover the corslet or the *chausuble*. This line was considered to have closed with the best on the list, — a man of genius and humble origin, who, in the confusion of the time, slipped into the office for a year or two. This was Henry de Bracton, whom Lord Campbell calls one of the greatest jurists of any age or country. He composed a work, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*. "His sentiments," says Lord Campbell, "are drawn from the rich fountain of Roman jurisprudence, expressed in Latin with a purity seldom reached by the imitators of the Augustan age, and rivalled by no English juridical writer till Blackstone arose, five centuries later."

Curiously enough, the first of the mere judges, the first Chief Justice "at the King's pleasure," was not a civilian, but a great baron, — a son of the sword, — a Bruce. In 1268, Robert de Brus was made *Capitalis Justiciarius ad Placita coram Rege tenenda*. This Bruce was grandfather of "the Bruce of Bannockburn." He had learned the law

in England, doubtless with the view of wielding the great powers of the Justiciary. But he was disappointed, on reaching it, to find it shorn of its high honors and emoluments, by the advice and influence of the martial heir to the crown. Nevertheless, he preferred the office of English judge to that of Scottish baron, and remained in England till the accession of Edward I., when, on the death of the Maid of Norway, he went into Scotland, and threw himself into the tumult of the Scottish succession. Queen Victoria draws some of her blood from this Justiciar, who was also the ancestor of Elgin and Kincardine, lately the guest of the city of Boston.

Edward I. made law reforms which have been respected for six hundred years. He substituted for the *Aula Regis* the Court of King's Bench, — the supreme court of criminal jurisdiction. The *Aula Regis*, in its appellate character, was thenceforward represented by the House of Peers, — the Lords spiritual and temporal having judges for their assessors. One Chief Justice, about this time, Tresilian, was hanged at Tyburn, in 1389, by the barons, who were then at variance with Richard II., and who saw in the judge their great enemy. Shortly afterwards, Chief Justice Belknap and several of the judges were tried by the *House of Commons*, for having given the King false advice at Nottingham, with a view of preventing a convocation of the barons. These judges were finally transported to *Ireland*, as people are transported nowadays to Sydney and New Zealand.

In the biography of Sir William Gascoigne, Lord Campbell contends that, in spite of those who would throw their historic doubts over the matter, this Chief Justice did really commit Prince Hal to the Bench prison, for interfering violently in behalf of one of his servants, indicted at the bar of the court. The doubters in this case argue from the fact, that it was not till a hundred years after Sir William Gascoigne's death, that any written account of the transaction, as far as can be discovered, made its appearance. But it may be urged that there were then no newspapers, registers, or magazines to record the gossip or history of the day; and, even if there were, it might not follow that the misconduct of the prince would receive publicity in that way. The first book in which there is any account of the imprisonment of Prince Henry

was written by Sir Thomas Elyot, and printed in 1534. It was called "The Governor," and was dedicated to Henry VIII. Sir Thomas does not say the prince *struck* the Justice. But Hall, who published his Chronicle in the reign of Edward VI., speaks of a blow. Sir Robert Catlyne and Sir John Whidden, judges of the King's Bench, (temp. Eliz.) are recorded to have cited, in Westminster Hall, the imprisonment of the Prince as an undoubted fact, the tradition of which was preserved in that locality. Shakspeare, in Henry V., makes it implied. Warwick says to the Chief Justice:

"Indeed I think the young King likes you not."

"*Chief J.* I know he doth not, and do arm myself
To welcome the condition of the time."

And, afterwards, the Chief Justice says to the King:

"Your majesty hath no just cause to hate me."

"*King H.* What! rate, rebuke, and roughly send to prison
The immediate heir of England?"

It was long thought, that Shakspeare was here guilty of one of his anachronisms, inasmuch as it was believed Gascoigne died (before the accession of Henry V.) in the year 1412. But the matter has been placed beyond a doubt by the discovery of the Chief Justice's last will and testament, in the ecclesiastical court at York, bearing date, "Friday, after St. Lucy's day, A. D. 1419," that is, 15th of December. As for the imprisonment, there is more reason why we should believe than doubt it. The young prince, by all accounts, was a headstrong wag, and would certainly have been in as great a passion about his man as Lear was, when he found poor Kent in the stocks. He was, as Elyot says, "fiers and of wanton courage,"— doubtless "the sweetest, rascaliest young prince," that Shakspeare describes him; and the Chief Justice very well knew that the old man would be obliged to any one who would curb his mad son. George the Fourth, when Prince, in a more regulated and decorous age, used to act as wildly as his precursor.

The successor of Sir William Gascoigne was Sir W. Hankford, of whose life nothing is so memorable as his mode of leaving it. He was a good judge, but of an extremely melancholy temperament. He wished to die, but shrunk from suicide, seeing that the self-slayer's goods were usually forfeited, and he himself buried in a cross-road with a stake

through his body. Several of his deer having been stolen, he set a keeper to watch in the park at night, with orders to shoot any intruder who would not answer when challenged. One dark night, the keeper met such a man, and shot him dead. This was his master. The story is well authenticated.

In a succession of Chief Justices, to the time of Queen Elizabeth, we find no remarkable men. They were mostly dutifully disposed towards the powers that were, — particularly in the time of Henry VIII., who, reigning after the sinking of the barons, and before the rising of the commons, enjoyed the golden age of English royalty. Montagu was Chief Justice in his time, and we quote the following amusing instance of his mode of governing. When a young man, just sent to the House of Commons, Montagu was ambitious of playing a Roman part for his *début;* and denounced, in a florid harangue, Wolsey's coming down to *that* house, to hurry on a very slow money bill. "But the next day he was sent for by the King, who thus addressed him: 'Ho! will they not let my bill pass?' The young patriot, in a great fright, went on his knees, when the jovial Henry, laying his hand on his head, went on: 'Get my bill passed by twelve o'clock to-morrow; or else, by two o'clock to-morrow, this head of yours shall be off.' Montagu was immediately cured of his public spirit, and became a steady courtier for the rest of his days."

Lord Chief Justice Popham was the most remarkable of Queen Elizabeth's Justices. He was stolen away by gypsies in his infancy; and his life, in early youth, was wild, reckless, and profligate. It is recorded of him that, while a law student in the Middle Temple, he was in the habit of going; with several others, from a tavern in Southwark, to waylay and rob travellers on Shooter's Hill, — a proceeding, it must be stated, not considered at that time so disgraceful as it has latterly become. After his marriage, however, his wife and child had the effect of reclaiming him, and sending him to his studies with such a will that his progress was extremely rapid and successful. In 1571, he was made Sergeant; and though, on the occasion of the customary feast which he gave on taking the *coif*, the wags, growing merry over his old Gascony wine, said he had intercepted it, one night, on its way to an Alderman's cellar, "he went on never minding,"

— the rather that, (having changed into the Court of Queen's Bench,) he gave Elizabeth great satisfaction in the way he conducted her business. He was in all things at her service, —

"A very good courtier of the Queen, and the Queen's good courtier."

Popham died in 1607, immensely rich. A strange legend is connected with his wealth, and with his house of Littlecote Hall. Sir Walter Scott founds a ballad upon it, and Aubrey narrates it, to the following effect. Sir Richard Dayrell, wishing to destroy the child of his wife's waiting woman, brought a midwife, blindfold, from a distant place to his house. The woman, having assisted at the child's birth, saw a knight come into the chamber, destroy the infant, and throw it into the fire. When she had been carried home, hoodwinked, as before, she made an outcry all over the country, but could not direct the magistrates to the house in which the murder took place. However, by strict search, and the aid of the woman's memory, it was found to be Littlecote Hall. Sir Richard Dayrell, its owner, was brought to trial before Chief Justice Popham. But making use of his wealth, and giving, it is said, Littlecote Hall as a bribe, he managed to delay, and finally baffle, the law of the land. Popham's property was soon squandered after his death, and, in two or three generations, his family became extinct. Littlecote Hall is still a fine relic of the old baronial times.

After Popham, came Chief Justice Fleming, of whom James I. used to say (and it is sufficient here to say) that he was a judge after his own heart; and then came "the greatest oracle of English municipal jurisprudence," — Sir Edward Coke. Coke was born in 1551 – 2, and studied in his youth at Cambridge. His father, also a lawyer, having left his family but moderately provided for, young Coke resolved to succeed at the law, to make money, and be a judge in the end. His studies exhibited him a miracle of perseverance and industry. He seemed to live on his "law" as Boniface lived on his "old October;" — he eat it, and drank it, and slept upon it, — allowing himself none of the amusements natural to those of his age. He never thought of them; neither then, nor at any other time, did he ever read a play, see a play acted, or sit in company with an actor. And yet, like Blackstone, Coke could write verses for his children! The conse-

quence of this severe industry was, that he eclipsed all his fellows, and, as Lord Campbell says, "rose in his profession as rapidly as Lord Erskine did, two hundred years later." At the age of thirty, the Benchers of the Inner Temple made him reader of Lyon's Inn, and then he lectured the law students and attorneys with great applause. He gained his cause in "the great Shelley case," after a wonderful display of dexterity and power; and thenceforward made money as fast as he pleased. Four years afterwards, he married Miss Paston, an heiress who brought him £30,000, and lived happily with her for over a dozen years. He was made Solicitor-General to the Queen, and then chosen Speaker by the Commons. Coke was, all his life, a mere lawyer. Neither philosophy, nor poetry, nor any of the amenities of literature had ever any place in his hard, practical mind. He had a dry pedantry of speech which he could never, or would never, change for any thing better. As Speaker, he began his first speech to the Queen thus: — "As in the heavens, a star is but *opacum corpus*, until it hath received light from the sun, so stand I, *corpus opacum*, a mute body, until your Highness's bright-shining wisdom hath looked on me and allowed me." This he, doubtless, considered particularly choice and happy. Having demanded liberty of speech, the gracious lioness answered, by her Lord Keeper, — "Liberty of speech is granted you. But you must know what privilege you have — not to speak, every one what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; but your privilege is, *aye* or *no*. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, her Majesty's pleasure is, that if you perceive any idle heads which will meddle with reforming the Church, &c." On the dissolution of Parliament, Coke made her Majesty a very figurative speech, tessellated with scraps of law-Latin, and ending with "our lands, our goods, our lives are prostrate at your feet to be commanded!" The man who said this must have been chuckling internally at his own words; for he was the same who, in the reign of Charles I., drew up the famous "Petition of Right."

In 1598, Coke became a widower, and casting about at once for another wife, to preside over his household and ten children, he fixed on the beautiful young Lady Hatton, lately widowed, and scarcely twenty years of age. She had already been wooed by her cousin, Francis Bacon; but he

was poor, and she gave him no encouragement. Coke, in the first instance, applied to the father and uncle of the beauty; and being the greatest lawyer and now one of the richest men in England, they did not oppose the match, which, somehow or other, was shortly brought about. The lady's inclinations did not go very strongly with it; for she positively refused to be married, in face of the church, to a crabbed old law-book, who was only plain Mr. Coke, and was, moreover, old enough to be her father. Under the circumstances, our great lawyer consented to act illegally in marrying her. She would only agree to a private marriage; and though Archbishop Whitgift had denounced such marriages as uncanonical and involving excommunication, Coke made no demur, and they were married in a private house, without license or banns, in presence of the lady's father, who gave her away; or, more properly speaking, trucked her, for considerations *in prospectu.* The Archbishop ordered a suit against Coke and all concerned; but Mr. Attorney-General made humble submission, and, in a little time, received a dispensation. This *mariage de convenance* turned out very unfortunately. Lady Hatton kept her own name and the control of part of her property. She was fond of admiration, and loved every thing her husband hated — masques, balls, the company of the gay and the gallant, and the poetry of Surrey and Spenser. In a year they had a daughter, who was afterwards the unhappy cause of much strife between them.

On the accession of King James, Coke was knighted and continued in his office. At the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, his behavior was violent in the extreme. In detailing the charge (of an intent to kill the King and his children) he was interrupted by Raleigh: —

"*Raleigh:* 'You tell me news I never heard of.' *Attorney-General:* 'Oh, sir, do I? I will prove you the notoriest traitor that ever held up his hand at the bar of any court.' *R.:* 'Your words cannot condemn me; my innocency is my defence. Prove one of these things wherewith you have charged me, and I will confess the whole indictment, and that I am the horriblest traitor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thousand thousand torments.' *A. G.:* 'Nay, I will prove all; thou art a monster; thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart.' *R.:*

'Let me answer for myself.' *A. G.:* 'Thou shalt not.' *R.:* 'It concerneth my life.' *A. G.:* 'Oh! do I touch you?'

"The proofless narrative having proceeded, Raleigh again broke out with the exclamation, 'You tell me *news*, Mr. Attorney!' and thus the altercation was renewed: —

"*A. G.:* 'Oh, sir, I am the more large because I know with whom I deal; for we have to deal to-day with a *man of wit.* I will teach you before I have done.' *R.:* 'I will wash my hands of the indictment, and die a true man to the King.' *A. G.:* 'You are the absolutest traitor that ever was.' *R.:* 'Your phrases will not prove it.' *A. G.* (*in a tone of assumed calmness and tenderness*): 'You, my masters of the jury, respect not the wickedness and hatred of the man; respect his cause: if he be guilty, I know you will have care of it, for the preservation of the King, the continuance of the Gospel authorized, and the good of us all.' *R.:* 'I do not hear yet that you have offered one word of proof against *me.* If my Lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?' *A. G.:* 'All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper; for I *thou* thee, thou traitor.'

"The depositions being read, which did not by any means make out the prisoner's complicity in the plot, he observed, —

"You try me by the Spanish Inquisition if you proceed only by circumstances, without two witnesses.' *A. G.:* 'This is a treasonable speech.' *R.:* 'I appeal to God and the King in this point, whether Cobham's accusation is sufficient to condemn me?' *A. G.:* 'The King's safety and your clearing cannot agree. I protest before God I never knew a clearer treason. Go to, I will lay thee upon thy back for the confidentest traitor that ever came at a bar.'"

Coke had an insolent way with him, the best of which was, that he was no flatterer of any man, however great and high. He always kept that sturdiness of disposition, which broke out so remarkably in the latter years of his long and energetic life. His rivalry with Bacon (seven or eight years his junior, and a polished, subtle courtier,) was keen and incessant. Bacon gives one passage of it which is absolutely laughable; it was concerning a motion he was to make in the Court of Exchequer, such as would be disagreeable to Coke.

"This I did in as gentle and reasonable terms as might be. Mr. Attorney kindled at it, and said, 'Mr. Bacon, if you have any tooth against me, pluck it out; for it will do you more hurt than all the teeth in your head will do you good.' I answered coldly in these very words, 'Mr. Attorney, I respect you; I fear you not; and the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I

will think of it.' He replied, 'I think scorn to stand upon terms of greatness towards you, who are less than little — less than the least,' and other such strange light terms he gave me, with that insulting which cannot be expressed. Herewith stirred, yet I said no more but this, 'Mr. Attorney, do not depress me so far; for I have been your better, and may be again when it please the Queen.' With this he spake, neither I nor himself could tell what, *as if he had been born Attorney-General;* and, in the end, bade me 'not meddle with the Queen's business, but with mine own, and that I was unsworn,' &c. I told him, 'sworn or unsworn was all one to an honest man, and that I ever set my service first, and myself second, and wished to God that he would do the like.' Then he said 'it were good to clap a *cap. ut legatum* upon my back.' To which I only said 'he could not, and that he was at a fault, for that he hunted on an old scent.' He gave me a number of disgraceful words besides; which I answered with silence, and showing that I was not moved by them." Vol. ii. p. 223.

What a historic *tableau* of the two English immortalities — the respective oracles of law and philosophy!

After having filled the office of Attorney-General for twelve years, and amassed great wealth, Coke made himself Sergeant, and was created Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in 1606. In this office, he steadily set his face against the despotic attempts of the Crown, which, having destroyed the power of the barons, was now destined to yield in turn to the better-rooted power of the English commonalty. Queen Elizabeth had created a Court of High Commission, in which ecclesiastical cases were decided without appeal. James wished to make the Commission cognizant of temporal rights and offences. But Coke and his legal brethren opposed this scheme, and defeated it. The King then tried to succeed, by making Coke a member of the Commission; but he would not sit. Being thus discomfited, James was advised by the Archbishop of Canterbury to sit in person, as judge, in the Commission Court, and abide by no prohibition. James ordered the judges into his presence, and asked them if any objection lay against the plan. Coke, speaking for himself and fellows, told his Majesty courageously, that, by the law of England, the King cannot, in his own person, adjudge any case at all; but that all matters should be settled in a court of law. He then turned round and told

the Archbishop, Bancroft, that he gave bad advice. The "Solomon of his age" then broke in; — "my Lords, I always thought, and, by my soul, I have often heard the boast, that the English law was always founded on reason. If that be so, why have not I and others reason as well as you and the judges?" His Majesty got in a rage to think he should be *under the law!* But Coke stoutly quoted Bracton, in Latin, against him, and completed his discomfiture.

Coke was engaged in his court, trying a case of church preferment, in which the King's commendam was alluded to in an irreverent way, when he received his Majesty's order to stop the trial and adjourn the court. But Coke went through with the case and decided it. The King, in a passion, sent for all the Judges, and told them their conduct was improper and indecent; whereupon they all fell on their knees to argue the matter. But, though thus *genibus minor*, Coke still held out, like Witherington,

> "Who, when his legs were struck away,
> Still fought upon his stumps."

Bacon, who was standing by, put in a word, when the Chief Justice turned round upon him with, — "Mr. Attorney, you exceed your authority! for it is the duty of counsel to plead *before* the bench of Judges, not *against them!*" The *heart* of the intrepid old judge was not on its knees, certainly. The Justices were then asked, if they ought not to have adjourned, and if they would not adjourn, in a similar case, when they were very glad to cry, "Yes, yes!" But Coke would only say, sturdily, — "When the case occurs again, I will act according to law!" At last, they resolved to cashier him. He was brought up before the Privy Council, on some trumpery charges, among which was having insulted the King in the commendam case; and having ordered him to kneel, Suffolk, Lord Treasurer, told him he was sequestered by the King, who also bid him take care what opinions he was about promulgating in the Reports he was engaged upon. Coke was likewise ordered to send these Reports to his Majesty for his supervision; and was informed that it was a very impertinent and arrogant thing to allow his coachman to ride bareheaded before him! He was rebuked for being turbulent and disrespectful, and for making himself popular by opposing govern-

ment. Bacon (then Lord Chancellor) did his best, in an insidious way, to overthrow the Chief Justice, who used to take a savage delight in saying, that "a judge must not give a bribe, nor take a bribe!"

After Coke was superseded, troubles of another sort began, not a whit less distracting to him than his public contentions. Seeing he was a disgraced man, Lady Hatton, who, during the past eighteen years, had shown him how little she cared for him, now went away from him, taking off plate and other valuables from his houses at Holborn and Stoke Pogeis. At this time, Coke's daughter by Lady Hatton was about fifteen years old, and his restless mind had conceived a project by which the poor girl could be made use of to further his own views. He thought that an alliance with the Duke of Buckingham would help him to regain his lost influence; and knowing that the Duke's brother, Sir John Villiers, admired the young creature, the parchment-hearted father determined that he should have her, and her wealthy dowry. So, without consulting Lady Hatton in this business, he went to see Sir John, and took the opportunity to offer or to grant him the Lady Frances in marriage. When this came to the mother's ears, she raged like a tigress. She watched her opportunity, and stole away her daughter from Holborn, hurrying her off to Argyll House, at Oatlands, then rented by her cousin Withipole. *She* then tried, in turn, to marry her daughter, with as little delay as possible, to the young Earl of Oxford; and showed the girl a *forged* proposal, purporting to be from him. But Sir Edward was too quick for her. He put on an iron cap and corselet, armed his sons and servants, and marched on Oatlands, where he pulled down some gates and doors, unresisted, and, laying hold of his daughter, carried her to Stoke. Lady Hatton immediately got together a body of "tall fellows" to rescue her daughter; but she was baffled and put under restraint. Soon after, she agreed to give her consent to the marriage with the middle-aged Sir John Villiers; and it was solemnized at Hampton Court, in presence of the King and all the nobility. Lady Hatton became a great favorite at Court, where she made everybody merry with describing the odd ways of "old Cook."

A parliament was called in 1621, after an interval of six years; and Sir Edward Coke, who saw that his dream of

court favor was over, — seeing, too, Lord Bacon high in power, — had himself returned to the House of Commons for a Cornish borough, and put himself at the head of those Puritans who were, twenty-eight years later, to overturn the throne. He was now sixty-nine years old; but his age, though frosty, was kindly. He began with linking "Supply" and "Grievance" together, — the latter to be discussed whenever the former was demanded. He protested against the "monopolies" of the kingdom, till they were done away with. He also protested against the adjournment of the House by the King; and, at the close of the session, got the Commons to adopt a protestation that the liberties, franchises, and privileges of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright of English subjects. James, highly incensed, sent for the Journals of the House, tore out the page recording this impertinence, and dissolved the parliament.

Coke was now committed to the Tower, and some old charges were preferred against him, but abandoned on the intercession of the Queen and his family. On the accession of Charles I., Coke, being in parliament, was in opposition to the court. The King tried in vain to have him disqualified. The old man was a sort of Jack Wilkes in his day, and was returned for two counties at the same time. Charles told the Commons, if they did not give the supply, "he must use the means which God had put into his hands," &c. The House of Commons then took the sacrament, and fasted; and, that very day, the unconquerable old Coke, seventy-seven years of age, began his quaint and crabbed speeches about *Magna Charta*, *Nullus liber homo*, *Habeas Corpus*, and so forth, and in a little time had drawn up and brought forward the "Petition of Right." It passed the Commons. The King, out of all precedent, sent crown lawyers to argue against it at the bar of the Lords; but Coke overpowered them at law. Amendments were proposed which would nullify the bill; but the Commons were firm; and Coke got up, and, with tears in his eyes, (for a crusty old man like him, his tears could flow easily,) denounced the King's favorite, Buckingham; whereupon, the members all chimed in with mighty cheers. The Lords and Commons agreeing on the bill, the King reluctantly gave way, and it passed into law.

Coke soon afterwards retired from public life, and pub-

lished his commentary upon Littleton. He resided at Stoke with his ill-fated daughter, Lady Parbeck (Villiers had been created Viscount Parbeck) who had long been a disgraced woman. She had early left her husband, and gone off with Sir John Howard. She was afterwards condemned, by the High Commission, to stand in a white sheet, in the church of the Savoy; but she managed to conceal herself, and was not pursued. She was forgiven by her father, who probably felt that she also had much to forgive, and she was now his only solace; for Lady Hatton had long ceased to come near him. On one occasion, hearing he was dead, Lady Hatton, along with her brother, came post-haste towards Stoke; but they met the physician coming from Sir Edward, who said he was quite well again, and the poor lady was obliged to return, very much discomfited.

Several respectable and subservient Chief Justices succeeded Coke; but their "names are written on the roll of common men." Of the Chief Justices of the Commonwealth, Rolle is memorable for his moderation and his opposition to Cromwell, whenever the policy of the latter led him to disregard the constitution. Oliver was, in many things, nearly as despotic as the Stuarts. In a case of illegal taxing, he sent for the judges and rated them for their reluctance to justify it. When they spoke of Magna Charta, he told them that their Magna Charta (giving it a very curious and laughable pronunciation, still preserved among the traditions of Westminster Hall) had no weight at all with him in the case.

If this same Oliver, whom Carlyle worships in his own Teutonic fashion, may be called the hand of the Commonwealth, Chief Justice St. John — another Oliver — may be called the head thereof, — a deep, silent, saturnine republican, who principally set on foot and organized almost every scheme which had for its object the overthrow of kingly prerogative. St. John was Hamden's counsel in the ship-money case. In 1651, he was sent ambassador to the Hague; but he was repeatedly insulted there, at the instigation of the English refugees. The Duke of York, with his sister on his arm, meeting St. John at a turnstile, and perceiving the stern republican would not give way, took off the hat of the latter, and flung it in his face, with the epithet "parricide!" Ruffians afterwards tried to break into his

house, with a rope in their hands, to strangle him. The States General being backward in affording him redress, St. John returned home, and seeing that the Dutch were the great sea-carriers of nations, proposed and procured the adoption of an ordinance which was a heavy blow to their "carrying-trade." This was the origin of the English Navigation Law, only lately repealed.

"Thus mighty matters grow from trivial things."

Bradshaw — memorable for Milton's eulogium, as much as for the presidency of the court that condemned Charles — was nominated to this latter office, after the other judges had refused it. He had been Chief Justice of Chester. At first, he earnestly desired to be excused. But he was overruled. On the day of trial, he wore his round high-crowned beaver hat lined with steel, to ward off blows, if any tumult should arise. Bradshaw afterwards opposed the violence of Cromwell. A day or two after the hasty dissolution of the Long Parliament, he told Cromwell that he had no right to dissolve it — that it was not truly dissolved. "He remained," says Lord Campbell, "in a state of sulky opposition during the remainder of Oliver's Protectorate." Bradshaw died a little before the Restoration. On the 30th of January, 1660, his body, and those of Cromwell and Ireton, were taken up and hanged at Tyburn, and their remains thrown into a hole under the gallows, — the Bradshaw inscription on the cannon at Annapolis to the contrary notwithstanding.

After the Restoration, the Chief Justices, up to the time of Sir Matthew Hale, were pliant instruments for the punishment of the republicans and regicides of the late *régime*. Hale was a remarkable example of moral purity and judicial independence, at such a period. He was not a mere lawyer; he made himself acquainted with mathematics, natural philosophy, physic, antiquities, and chemistry. He studied jurisprudence liberally, and loved to talk with learned men in every profession. He was a vigorous student, and had business from the beginning. He was no orator, and disliked all rhetorical flourishes in court; for he said there were modes of bribing people's fancies, and corrupting them with luscious figures of speech. For himself, he always pleaded in few words and to the point, though never with any degree of

fluency. Another of his characteristics was his reluctance to undertake any but a just cause. His unaffected modesty was only equalled by his knowledge of his profession. With Whitlock, he was called on by the leading men of the Commonwealth to prepare a body of law reforms. He drew up the heads of several improvements in laws which had remained unchanged since the time of Edward the First; but the violent breaking up of the Long Parliament postponed these improvements for generations, — till the reigns of William IV. and Victoria. Hale was made judge of the Common Pleas; and was member of Cromwell's parliament of the Three Kingdoms, — in which the Protector not only anticipated the two Unions, but the parliamentary Reform of 1832. This parliament was dissolved in three months, and Hale afterwards sat in a red gown among Cromwell's peers in the House of Lords. But Oliver, who got on as badly with his parliaments as Charles Stuart, soon turned the two houses about their business, and resolved to rule by the army — as a simpler mode of managing matters.

At the Restoration, Hale moved, in the Commons, that conditions should be sent to Charles for his acceptance, preliminary to his assumption of power; but he was overruled. In spite of this, he was well received by the King on his arrival, made Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and knighted. Eleven years after, he was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Hale was very strict in preserving all appearances of judicial morality; and Lord Campbell considers his scruples coxcombical, in the cases of some complimentary presents. But Hale desired to produce an impression in an age of judicial bribery; and his example was salutary. The witchcraft trial, in which he sentenced the poor old women, Amy Duny and Rose Cullender, to be hanged, in 1665, is a miserable blot on his character. And yet no man should be condemned for his sincere belief. Hale believed conscientiously, that he was doing religion and society one more service; and, on the following Sunday, he wrote a meditation, concerning the mercy of God in preserving us from the power of evil angels, — referring in it to the late trial at Bury St. Edmonds! In commenting on the spirit of laws and the necessity of changing them, Hale says, "Time is the wisest thing under Heaven." Looking back upon

much of his own philosophy, we are the more strongly impressed with the truth of that forcible saying.

In 1668, Hale was invited to assist the Bishop of Chester, and Baxter the Nonconformist, in making a Church establishment which should include the Presbytery. They planned such a one, pretty fairly; but the churches went by the ears about it, and the Papists helped to aggravate the hubbub; — so the theory fell to pieces. In 1676, Sir Matthew, finding his health declining, resigned his office. The King parted from him with kindness, and the citizens of London saw him leave them with the liveliest emotions of regret. He went down to his birthplace in Gloucester, meditating, on his way, the passage in Seneca's Thyestes, beginning

> "Stet quicunque volet potens
> Aulæ culmine lubrico;
> Me dulcis saturet quies;" —

— philosophic sentiments, such as people who have wearied themselves at the business of the world generally entertain when they can do no more in it. Hale published several religious and philosophic works, now only remembered for his name's sake, — on Gravitation, the Torricellian experiment, Contemplations, the Origination of Mankind, (the last containing the original illustration of the watch, which Paley afterwards employed to refute atheists.) He also wrote letters of advice to his sons and grandchildren. Addressing his granddaughters, Mary and Frances, he advises them — among other exhortations to good housewifery — to "know the condition of the poultry about the house, for it is no discredit to a woman to be a hen-housewife; to cast about to order their clothes with the most frugality; to mend them when they want," &c. But in his own person, he was a great sloven — one of the most simple and careless of mortals. He married his servant-maid in his old age; but Achilles did the same.

> "Serva Briseis, niveo colore,
> Movit Achillem." —

"This good man," says Baxter, "more regarded his own daily comfort than man's thoughts and talk." But Sir Matthew was unfortunate in his children. He never cared to have any intercourse with the great or the wealthy; but he

would invite his poorest neighbors to dinner, and make them sit at his own table. It is a pity that the conventions of artificial life will not allow such primitive behavior to be practised with impunity. "He thus," says Lord Campbell, "made his house very disagreeable to his children, who might have turned out well, if better society and suitable amusements had been provided for them at home." "All his sons," says Roger North, "died in the sink of lewdness and debauchery; and if he was to blame in their education, it was by too much rigor rather than liberty." Thus Sir Matthew Hale, while administering justice to all the world, forgot to do justice to his own little household; — a dreary mistake! worse even than the witch sentence.

During the time that elapsed from the Restoration to the Revolution, there were eleven Chief Justices of the King's Bench, put into the office to aid the law-subverting policy of the unhappy Stuarts, who "learned nothing and forgot nothing" in their exile. Scroggs was of a respectable family, educated at Oxford, and one of the fighting cavaliers. He afterwards studied the law; and his visage being comely, and his speech witty and bold, "he carried off wonderful verdicts." The King knighted him, and made him Chief Justice in 1678; he filled that office for three years. He first hanged papists for the Popish Plot, on the oaths of Oates and Bedloe; then, thinking the King's feelings ran the other way, he suddenly turned round on that amiable and orthodox pair, scoffed at their testimony, and let the papists go unhanged. He made a rule, by which any publication could be stopped by mere "injunction;" and, in this way, muzzled the Weekly Pacquet for talking too freely of the Duke of York and his Catholic leanings. In 1681, Scroggs was impeached of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanors. The King, seeing he could not maintain such an auxiliary, was obliged to cashier him, and he died in obscurity, without a friend to close his eyes. Pemberton succeeded, who was a respectable judge, as times went; but was not sufficiently unscrupulous. He was therefore dismissed to make way for Chief Justice Saunders. The latter, from being a poor boy in the offices of Clements Inn, had the talent and industry to make himself a barrister, and became a great favorite with the Templars for his jovial ways. He

was a dexterous lawyer, a clever master of fence, and an adept in all the quips, quillets, and quiddities of the profession. He enjoyed, therefore, an extensive "hold of business." He had a general retainer from the Crown, to plead against Whigs and every thing Whiggish. Charles, finding that the citizens of London could elect their own magistrates, hold public meetings to petition, and have impartial juries, resolved to have their charter abolished. He raised Saunders to the King's Bench for the purpose of trying the charter of the metropolis. Saunders never intrigued for this place; his greatness was thrust upon him. Within a week, he was made Sergeant and Chief Justice; and, in a few days, the great case of *Quo warranto* came before him. It was tried and postponed to the next term; at which time, Saunders was on his death-bed. But he did what was expected of him; the judgment of the court was given by deputy, and the franchise of the capital was seized into the King's hands. A few years later, this important decision was reversed by the Revolution, which it mainly helped to precipitate. Saunders died of physical decay, at the age of fifty, and left no issue. "But," writes North, "he used to say, by his troggs, (such a humorous way of talking as he affected,) none could say he wanted *issue* of his body; for he had nine in his back!" He was a corpulent, beastly sot, who used generally to have a pint of ale at his elbow on the bench, and was very offensive to every one who sat near him. He was extremely easy and unaffected in manner; "and for good nature and condescension there was not his fellow." He was particularly happy in the company of law students, and would sit for a long time with them, talking and laughing and trying them with questions. His constant abode was with an old tailor, in Butcher's Row, near Temple Bar. The tailor's wife was his nurse, and in his change of fortune he still remained with these humble friends. He would walk, very philosophically, from Whitehall or Westminster Hall, to the old place, where, solaced by his pipe and his pot of ale, the Chief Justice was very fond of playing jigs upon a virginal belonging to his landlady. Dining one day with the Lord Keeper, on the king's business, he astonished that grave personage by playing one of these jigs on a harpsichord. He made poor Earle, the tailor, and his wife, his executor and executrix, and residuary

legatees. He left a book of Reports, which, says Lord Campbell, are so entertaining as well as instructive, that they have instilled into many a taste for juridical study.

Passing over the "blood-boltered" Jeffreys, together with two others, weak tools of James II., we come to the brighter morning which followed the Revolution of 1688. The new order of judges is worthily headed by Sir John Holt. "Of all the English judges," says Lord Campbell, "Holt has gained the highest reputation by the exercise of judicial functions; he was not a statesman, like Clarendon, a philosopher, like Bacon, or an orator, like Mansfield; yet he fills nearly as great a space in the eye of posterity." Holt, in his early days, was somewhat irregular, if not criminal; some of his biographers make him as bad as Judge Popham. They tell that, in the days of his greatness, riding the circuit as Justice, he recognized a man, capitally convicted before him, as one of his own accomplices; and going to see him in jail, and asking for the rest of the gang, was answered, "they are all hanged but myself and your lordship!" They tell another story of a pretended charm against the ague, which he once gave in payment of his bill at an inn, and of his recognition of it, forty years afterwards, in the possession of an old woman, brought before him to be tried as a witch. After Holt was called to the bar, he was subordinate advocate in several public cases, among which was the trial of Lord Russell. The *Quo warranto* cause having been decided against the city of London, the municipal officers were appointed by the crown, and Holt was made Recorder. Though a Whig, he accepted the office with a determination to perform its duties honestly. In 1687, when the question of trying and shooting deserters by court marshal was agitated, Holt asserted that they could only be punished by the common law. He was therefore dismissed. At the Revolution, he sat on the woolsack, in the Lords, and advised the peers in the reconstruction of the constitution. The Privy Council soon after made him Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The choice gave general satisfaction, and Holt's genius was thenceforward in its proper element. He was the first who, by a series of decisions and by an act of parliament which he suggested, framed the code by which negotiable securities, bills of exchange, and promissory notes were regulated nearly as

at present in England. He was also the first to lay down the law, that a slave cannot breathe in England; and he subsequently disallowed a claim for the *value* of a slave. The English law recognized nothing under a *villein*. He likewise opposed the doctrine that forestalling should be put down, — arguing that it was an essential element of all trade. He also ended the practice of bringing a man's former misdeeds to tell against him on trial, and the practice of bringing prisoners fettered to the bar. Holt stoutly maintained a series of contests with the Houses of Parliament; and, in 1700, was offered the Lord Chancellorship, by the King. But he replied that, never having had more than one case in Chancery, and having *lost* that one, he could not think of accepting the office. He died in 1710, to the general regret of the nation, Tories as well as Whigs. Holt put down prosecutions for witchcraft. In eleven cases, he directed the acquittal of the old women. He went farther, and directed that every witch-prosecutor should himself be tried as a cheat. Whereupon the crime of witchcraft suddenly ceased in England, — except in Lancashire, where the witches of that famous old Palatine still exercise their *charms*, "without let or hindrance." He was very hard upon a sect of fanatics that went about in his time, called "Prophets." One of these having been committed for seditious language, another of them, named Lacy,

"called at the Chief Justice's house in Bedford Row, and desired to see him. *Servant:* 'My Lord is unwell to-day, and cannot see company.' *Lacy* (in a very solemn tone): 'Acquaint your master that I must see him, for I bring a message to him from the Lord God.' The Chief Justice, having ordered Lacy in and demanded his business, was thus addressed: 'I come to you a prophet from the Lord God, who has sent me to thee, and would have thee grant a *nolle prosequi* for John Atkins, his servant, whom thou hast sent to prison.' *Holt, C. J.:* 'Thou art a false prophet, and a lying knave. If the Lord God had sent thee, it would have been to the Attorney-General, for he knows that it belongeth not to the Chief Justice to grant a *nolle prosequi;* but I, as Chief Justice, can grant a warrant to commit thee to bear him company.' This was immediately done, and both prophets were convicted and punished." Vol. ii. p. 139–40.

It is remarkable that Holt always persisted in the French

system of questioning prisoners, now overruled and done away with.

The biography of the bench, henceforward, loses the interest which belongs to political movement and personal character. The more constitutional behavior of the rulers and the quieter course of justice produce a sameness in which the individual sinks in the office. There is very little attraction in the legal history of the Ryders, Wilmots, Parkers, Pratts, Raymonds, and Lees.

In the Chief Justiceship of Lee, we find a vindication of the rights of women, which will, doubtless, interest some of our fair friends of the revolutionary movement, — our Red Republicans of the wardrobe. In 1737, he had to decide whether a female could vote, or serve in the office of parish sexton. John Olive and Sarah Bly were candidates for St. Botolph, London. Males and females voted for each; and she had the majority. Justice Lee decided in her favor, — arguing that as women were already queens, marshals, great-chamberlains, keepers of prisons, and so forth, they may also be sextons; and, furthermore, that if a woman could fill an office, she could also vote for it. We offer Lord Chief Justice Lee as the charter toast of the Worcester Convention, in full *symposium* assembled.

Coming to Chief Justice Wilmot, we find him an original in a monotonous time. He was a modest man, who loved leisure, repose, and obscurity; and yet, throughout his life, he had a large amount of forensic greatness thrust upon him. He went to school, with Dr. Johnson, to Mr. Hunter at Lichfield, who was a perfect Creakle or Squeers, in his way, and used to flog the boys on the smallest pretexts, — to save them, as he said, from the gallows! Mr. Wilmot remembered Johnson at the school, — "a long, lank, lounging boy," whom he saw punished by Hunter for *idleness.* When called to the bar, Wilmot, instead of being vain of his great information as a jurist, kept it all to himself, with a great deal of indifference; and succeeded in being let alone for several years. Sir Dudley Ryder, knowing what he was, recommended him for a silk gown; but Wilmot refused it; he also refused the rank of King's Sergeant. He said, "The withdrawing from the eyes of mankind has always been my favorite wish. It was the first, and will be the last, of my life." He was offered

a seat in the Commons free of expense, which he also refused. He then went down, with his wife to Derby, to live on a small patrimony —

> Content to breathe his native air
> In his own ground —

and practise occasionally as provincial counsel. But his friends drove him from Mantua to "imperial Rome," and pushed him into distinction and emolument. He was certainly the most original Chief Justice in his way that ever sat upon a bench. He might have been one of the philosophers of the Greek *Stoa*, and have gone about saying sententious things of life and its aims and ambitions, — an Epicurean of the first water.

Lord Campbell closes his list with Lord Mansfield, — a man variously estimated in his time, but whose chief merit with posterity is the framing of the commercial code of England, which Holt had been already trying to develop, and which has been followed in the laws of traffic existing in our own country. Judge Story, whom Lord Campbell pronounces to be one of the greatest jurists of modern times, has written an emphatic eulogy on Lord Mansfield, for his philosophy of trade. For the rest, this Chief Justice inclined, all his life, to the cause of the crown; and a multitude of his decisions proved his sympathy with the policy of George III., whom, against all law or precedent, he long advised in the Cabinet and Council, while he administered the law upon the bench.

William Murray was born at the dilapidated castle of Scone, in 1705 — one of the fourteen children of a very poor and proud Scottish lord, Viscount Stormont. In his boyhood, he walked or rode a pony every day to the school of Perth. At the age of fourteen, he was sent into England, for the purpose of being educated for the law; and travelled by easy stages on horseback all the way. On his arrival in London, he was received by Mr. Wemyss, an apothecary, who had been born upon the Stormont estate. Wemyss procured lodgings for him at a dame's in Dean's Yard — some canny body from the Land of Cakes, doubtless — and furnished him with all necessaries, among which, as we see by the bill furnished to the Lady Stormont, were a sword (one guinea,) and *two wigs!* (four shillings and four pence.) The

lad was entered at Westminster School. Lord Campbell gives several vouchers of the expenses incurred for him, in Perth and London. These small demonstrations seemed necessary, apparently, in the opinion of the Earl's family — seeing that, during his life, his opponents were fond of taunting him with having been little better than a beggar in Scotland, and educated for charity in England. On this point the Chief Justice was always sore, and very anxious to have it understood that he was of noble family, respectably and independently educated, and never, at any time, raised beyond his father's rank. But it was to the liberality of Lord Foley, whose son was Murray's schoolfellow, that the future Chief Justice owed his taking the law as a profession at the moment he was about going into the cheaper way of the Church. In 1734, while he was still a graduate at Oxford, he entered Lincoln's Inn. He carefully studied the art of declamation, and distinguished himself in English as well as Latin composition. On the death of George II., he wrote a prize threnody, beating all his competitors, among whom was William Pitt, the formidable rival of his riper years. One of Murray's most intimate friends was Alexander Pope, with whom he became acquainted about this time, having been introduced by Lord Marchmont. Murray, as was natural, paid devout homage to the genius of the great poet; and the latter, doubtless, liked his young friend all the better for being the son of a lord.

For a couple of years after Murray had been called to the bar, he had not a brief in any cause of importance; and his friends, who saw his literary leanings, and knew that he was no great proficient in the common law of England, thought he should turn himself to some other course, politics or literature. But he had confidence in himself, and waited hopefully, spending, meantime, many of his hours with Pope and the wits of the period. About this time occurred those festivities at which, according to the assertion of William Pitt in the Commons and of Junius in his letters, Murray pledged the health of the Pretender, in some warm and unguarded moment. His first professional successes were at the bar of the House of Lords, in arguments on appeals; and he was highly complimented by the law Lords for his talent and eloquence. But he had little employment in Westminster

Hall. He was now strongly attached to a young lady of birth and fortune, who favored him. But her family, finding he had nothing but blood and his profession, had the fair one married to a wealthy country gentleman. This affair greatly dejected Murray, for a while; and Pope tried

> "To cheer his friend with ends of verse,
> And sayings of philosophers."

He addressed to him his Imitation of Horace's *Nil admirari* Epistle. Speaking of the vanity of human aims, the poet says, —

> "But wherefore all this labor, all this strife —
> For fame, for riches, for a noble wife?
> Shall one whom nature, learning, birth conspired
> To form, not to admire, but be admired,
> Sigh while his Chloe, blind to wit and worth,
> Weds the rich dulness of some son of earth?"

And then Pope goes on to exemplify the "art of sinking in poetry," in a line as full of bathos as any of those he helped to ridicule in Martinus Scriblerus: —

> "Graced as thou art with all the power of words,
> So known, so honored, *at the House of Lords!*"

Colley Cibber, very felicitously, parodied this couplet thus: —

> "Persuasion tips his tongue whene'er he talks,
> And he has chambers in the King's Bench Walks!"

In the Ode to Venus, Pope also alludes to his friend, and again in the Dunciad, showing that the blood of the Stormont Murrays must have had its due effect in the estimation of the fastidious bard. These poetical exhortations were not made in vain, apparently; for Murray began to think more about the law and less about the lady. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, gave him a general retainer for her law business. She would visit him at his chambers, whenever she wanted him. Coming home late one night, he found her equipage about his door, — footmen, torches, and so forth, and the Duchess in his chair. Instead of making any apology, she said to him, — "Young man, if you mean to rise in the world, you must not sup out." At another time, she waited till midnight, and then, as he did not return, went away. His clerk, next morning, said he could not make out who she was, for she would not give her name; but he thought she was a woman of quality, she swore so dreadfully!

In a year or so, seeing he was "off with the old love," Mur-

ray resolved to be "on with the new;" and accordingly wooed and won the Lady Elizabeth Finch, daughter of the Earl of Winchelsea, with whom he lived happily for half a century; — they were childless, however. Lady Mansfield died in 1784, nine years before the Earl. In 1742, Murray was made Solicitor-General, under the ministry of the Duke of Newcastle, who also brought him into parliament. In the Commons, he was very successful; and, from the beginning, was the champion of the crown and the antagonist of William Pitt, who had been in the house two years before him. Pitt, "the terrible cornet of horse," as Walpole called him, that nobody could "muzzle," always flamed in the van of the Whig line, and never missed an opportunity of falling foul of his old schoolfellow. In 1756, Murray was sworn Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the great object of his ambition, and created Baron Mansfield. Then began his long career as a judge, the merits of which have been so much canvassed. Lord Campbell speaks favorably and fairly of his innovation in the common law, which, in the improved means and condition of commerce, could not be said to meet all the requirements of the age. Lord Mansfield, indeed, had very little respect for Coke, and was generally disposed to decide more according to principle than precedent. As Lord Campbell says, "he certainly was led astray by a desire to make the rules laid down by his predecessors bend to the necessities of an altered condition of the social system." "His career was an undertaking to adapt the administration of justice, in the Common Law Courts, to the new circumstances of the country;" — a somewhat adventurous attempt, and one sure to bring a host of hornets about his ears.

Lord Mansfield took his place in the Lords, and became one of the confidential advisers of the king, in virtue of his seat in the Cabinet. But it was not till the reign of George III., that he signalized his political influence. Considering the incompatibility of the office of Chief Justice with that of Cabinet adviser, it was thought Mansfield would have taken the seals as Lord Chancellor. But that was not his policy. He knew that, as common law judge, he could better serve the government in its aim of restoring the royal prerogative, so much beaten down by the Whigs in the preceding reigns. Lord Campbell makes a feeble attempt to

persuade his readers that, though Lord Mansfield was a member of the Cabinet, he *could not* have been present when it was resolved to prosecute the printer and publisher of the North Briton newspaper; because the matter was likely to come before him judicially, and because the prosecution was so illegal and indiscreet, that he must have protested against it. This is a *non sequitur*. The aggrieved parties, at any rate, would not go into Mansfield's Court of King's Bench; they went to the Common Pleas, to look for justice from Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden. When the case of general warrants was brought before Mansfield, he refused to pronounce them unlawful, but adjourned the question. Nothing more was ever said of the legality of such warrants; government gave up the point in silence. In 1764, the Chief Justice concurred in the outlawry pronounced against Wilkes; and reversed it, in 1768, after the mob had terrified the metropolis from its propriety. We do not know whether Lord Campbell is in jest or not, (for his Lordship has a facetious way with him,) when he says that, though Lord Mansfield's politics were the arbitrary politics of the court, he maintained them with perfect *independence*; — that is, we suppose, independence of Jack Wilkes and the French government!

Lord Mansfield was emphatically in favor of taxing the American Colonies, to make up the defects caused by Pitt's glorious fighting system. He also declared solemnly in his place, that the Colonists were certainly represented in the English parliament, — as much as were the people of England, nine tenths of whom had no parliamentary votes! This is a fair specimen of a good deal of Lord Mansfield's logic and law. The argument that the greater part of the people at home were not much better than *villeins* was not much calculated to calm the angry feelings of the Colonists.

In 1770, Lord Chatham, (having recovered, apparently, from the ailment which kept him a good deal shut up from society for the last two or three years, and which was said to have been *mental aberration*,) attacked Lord Mansfield, whom he had followed into the Upper House, with unabated vigor and acrimony. Lord Chatham was denounced for the poor ambition of accepting a peerage. We are half inclined to believe he did it chiefly that his old Tory enemy should

not escape him, — lest he should have no more personal opportunities of assaulting him. Lord Chatham now called on the Lords to take into consideration the illegal conduct of the House of Commons in expelling Mr. Wilkes. Mansfield rose in deprecation, and said he had never delivered an opinion on the legality of the expulsion, and never would. He begged of the House not to go to war with the Commons. Lord Chatham vehemently replied, declaring that the constitution was invaded by the Tory majority of the Commons. He said these waters of bitterness flowed from the palace, and that the King should remember the principles which had placed him on his throne. To this tirade, Lord Mansfield could scarce return an answer. "His faculties," says Lord Campbell, "instead of being excited, seemed to have been paralyzed." He seemed overwhelmed at the idea of investigating the movements in the Commons. He declared that the *part he took* in the matter should ever remain shut up in his breast; but it was, he confessed, deposited in the bosom of *one* of the royal family, resting sure in the confidence it would never be revealed to another. This was coming poorly out of such a business; — in which Mansfield was, of course, concerned for the court party after his usual *independent* mode.

The trial of Woodfall, for publishing the celebrated Letter to the King signed Junius, involved Lord Mansfield in another public contest. In his address to the jury on the occasion, he told them they had only to decide on the *fact* of publishing, — did Woodfall publish the letter or not? They were not asked to decide whether it was *libellous* or not. Then, winding up, with the strange unsteadiness which indicates any thing but legal rectitude, he said, "but if you choose to do otherwise, you should be sure, for your conscience' sake, that your decision is law. If juries were to decide on law, we should be in a miserable condition." The verdict, as every body knows, was *Not Guilty*. During these proceedings, Junius assailed Lord Mansfield in his fiercest way. It is stated that the Lord Chief Justice did not for a moment doubt, (Lord Campbell thinks "he could shrewdly conjecture,") whose vituperation it was that assailed him so mercilessly. Junius, in fact, to the end, bent his angry mask upon Mansfield. In his last letter, he says he has dragged

the victim bound to the altar of justice; and he sternly and familiarly calls upon Lord Camden to *do the rest!*

As regards Junius, the majority of writers seem disposed to identify him with Sir Philip Francis; as does Lord Campbell. The editor of Bohn's new edition of the Letters, published last year, seems also to arrive at the same conclusion. He points to the similarity between the sentiments of Junius and those of Lord Chatham; he then shows that young Francis was the reporter, Latin secretary, and enthusiastic admirer of the great orator; and from such premises, comes to his conclusion. Lady Francis, who leans to the belief that her husband was Junius, says that, after the publication of some of the earlier letters, a powerful *auxiliary* — meaning the Earl of Chatham — *took part* in them. Mr. Wade, the aforesaid editor, therefore thinks that the vehement and wayward William Pitt was — not Junius, but "a piece of him."

Mansfield's "charge," in Woodfall's case, was still a subject of angry discussion. Sergeant Glyn moved in the Commons for a committee to inquire into the proceedings of the judges of Westminster Hall, and was supported by Burke and Dunning; while, in the House of Lords, Chatham and Camden still thundered against the Chief Justice. In answer to their taunts and assaults, he formally laid before them the "Opinion" of the aforesaid judges on the case. Camden immediately accepted it as a challenge, and called on Mansfield to name a day for discussing the legal principle of the "charge." In reply to this appeal, Walpole says that Mansfield, in the most abject way, paid the highest compliments to Lord Camden, but declined to answer certain questions then proposed by the latter, and refused to name a day; but he would hereafter give his opinion. The Chief Justice spoke in a very embarrassed and distressed manner, and the subject dropped. Walpole, who was present, says, "the dismay and confusion of Lord Mansfield were obvious to the whole audience." That harassed functionary, in fact, paid very dearly for his emoluments and for the honor of being the chosen champion of the King and the Tory government.

In 1775, he counselled the most effective means of bringing the people of Massachusetts to a sense of their misdeeds. "My Lords," he said, "if you do not get the better of America, America will get the better of you;" and he went on to

assert that, if the Colonies were independent, they would lay violent hands on the West India islands, and ruin the mother country by their commercial prosperity; — a prophecy not yet fulfilled. In 1777, he tried Horne Tooke, for calling upon the people for a subscription in aid of the widows and orphans of those of their own race who had been inhumanly murdered at Lexington and Concord. Tooke was fined £200 and imprisoned for a year. In the last days of his life, Chatham — a man of seventy — still fulmined against Mansfield — a still older man, of seventy-three. They had begun their opposition nearly fifty years before. Chatham now recommended conciliation with the Colonists, and during his declamation "on the employment of savages and scalping knives in carrying on the war, Lord Mansfield silently quailed under him." On the Duke of Richmond's motion, on the state of the nation, Lord Chatham entered the house with his crutches and flannels, and supported by William Pitt and Lord Mahon. His impassioned last speech, and the swoon at the end of it, are matters of history. When the old earl sank on the floor, the House was in consternation. Lord Camden, writing to the Duke of Grafton, said that "the earl of M." sat "almost as unmoved as the senseless body itself." Lord Brougham says that this meant the Earl of Marchmont; that Mansfield could not act so discreditably. But Campbell more justly asserts it was not at all discreditable that Lord Mansfield should sit still; and says, "instead of idly offering assistance, or hypocritically beating his breast, he might have been thinking with some tenderness of their first meeting as students at Oxford, or calmly considering how soon his own earthly career might be concluded."

In consequence of the lenity shown by Lord Mansfield to certain Quakers, Presbyterians, and Catholics, a good deal of discontent was excited. But when, in 1780, a bill was passed repealing a severe penal law against Catholics, the displeasure of the people blazed out into the Gordon Riots, which threatened London with another conflagration — at the hands of *Protestants*, this time, by way of variety. On the 2d of June, Lord Mansfield and other members of the Lords were pelted and hustled on their way into the House. On the 7th, the insurrection was at its height; the prisons were stormed, and distilleries belonging to Roman Catholics set on fire. On

the same night, the populace attacked Lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury Square, and he and the Countess had barely time to escape before it was in flames. On this occasion, his library and papers were destroyed ; and it has been considered that the world sustained a great loss in the destruction of the latter. But it is very probable they were not worth all the regret bestowed on them. We do not think Lord Mansfield ever cared much to record the circumstances of his political career for the preceding half century ; and no previous publication by his Lordship leads us to suppose he spent his leisure in the composition of any thing of importance, either legal or historical. Lord Campbell allows that the Chief Justice had not any ambition to be an author ; and the man who has no ambition to be an author will not be apt to have much manuscript matter in his desk. We are ready to believe that the furniture and plate, and several old books, with Pope's autograph in them, were the greatest losses undergone, — in spite of Cowper's lyric of lamentation. The following quatrain, resembling all the rest, is too pretty to indicate any deep feeling, any heartiness of regret :

> "The lawless herd, with fury blind,
> Have done him cruel wrong :
> The flowers are gone, but still we find
> The honey on his tongue ! "

This pointed little thing might have been written by Moore himself, in the heyday of his sparkling metaphors.

In 1788, Lord Mansfield resigned his office of Chief Justice. He lived five years longer, and kept his clear faculties to the last. He was greatly interested in the French revolution. When, — on the agreement of the Constituent Assembly to adopt a constitution, in 1789, — somebody observed to him that the French troubles were over, "My dear sir," said the old man, "they are not begun." "What," he used to say, "is it possible that a nation great, powerful, and enlightened for twelve centuries, which improved so much the feudal system — *the best system* — had not got any thing worth preserving to the world ? " He denounced the new laws of France as a farrago only fit for Botany Bay. "A constitution like this may survive that of an old man ; but nothing less than a miracle can protect and carry it down to posterity." Before his death, he heard of the beheading

of the King and Queen of France; and fearing for the stability of the British government, he encouraged his nephew, Lord Stormont, to give his support to Pitt, the Prime minister, for the country's sake, though he always regarded that young statesman with a strong feeling of dislike. Lord Mansfield died in 1793, with great tranquillity; his last words were, "let me sleep, let me sleep."

Mansfield was a lawyer more disposed to give the law than to pronounce it; and he exercised a freedom in his decisions which, though not incompatible with that progressive spirit and "amending hand" which Hale has lauded, yet, when identified with the prerogative and policy of a king like George III., could not fail to meet with pretty general disfavor and opposition, and to merit them. An amusing story is told which illustrates the legal philosophy of his lordship. A general officer, who knew nothing of law, once came to him to say, that being appointed Governor of a West India island, where he would be required to sit in a court and judge causes, he did not know what to do. Mansfield bid him not to be uneasy, but to sit, and hear both sides attentively and patiently; and then decide, in a fair, common sense way. "But never," added he, "give your reasons; your judgment will probably be right; your reasons will be sure to be wrong." Two or three years afterwards, sitting on the Plantation Appeals in the Cockpit, an appeal came before him, from the court of the aforesaid general, who had given such absurd reasons for one of his decisions, that the losing party could not bring himself to have any faith in it. But Mansfield found the judgment correct. The fact was, the worthy general had given such wise and satisfactory verdicts, that, like the daw among the doves, he forgot himself and the advice, and, in an unlucky hour, began to give his reasons, like a great lawyer! The reasons nearly undid him.

In the two volumes before us, (we wish they were more free from typographical inaccuracies,) Lord Campbell has furnished the general reader with a series of legal biographies written with judicious brevity and in an agreeable style. We cannot avoid finding in them some traces of egotism, and some unexpected vivacities of phrase, which cause an involuntary smile. But such things certainly imply a sort of geniality, if not originality, of mind, which is far more acceptable to all readers than a more constrained manner.

ART. IV. — *Commentaries on American Law.* By JAMES KENT. Seventh edition. New York. 1851. 4 vols. 8vo.

THE law of the land is, in the last resort, the controller of all civil and social action, the protector of all interests, the preserver of all property, the guardian of all rights, the redresser of all wrong; this, at least, it assumes to be, and if it be not all this, nothing else is. We cannot, therefore, think it altogether wise for society to leave to one class all knowledge of a thing so important; to leave it as the exclusive possession of a profession, all of whose members are tempted, and some yield to the temptation, to treat their profession as a trade, and use their knowledge only as the tools of a trade. And yet, in most countries and in most ages, this has been the case. While the law has been, always and everywhere, that which more than any other thing concerned all, the knowledge of it has been left to a very few.

One reason for this is, and has been, undoubtedly, the supposed difficulty of learning the law. And certainly no amount of time or labor is more than enough for the acquisition of that knowledge which is to be used professionally. "No man," said a lawyer who knew as much as most of his brethren, "can learn all the law; the most that he can do is to learn where and how to find the law." But to become acquainted with its general principles and provisions, is not now impossible nor yet very difficult. Once it may have been; once, the professional student knew not how to begin, or in what direction to go; and the oldest veteran hardly knew how to advise or aid the student in his attack upon the rude and undigested mass. But it is not so now. Blackstone began the work of systematizing the study of the law. Others have followed, until the only embarrassment comes from the number and variety of means and facilities. And of those who have thus endeavored to bring the law within the reach, not of the professional student only, but of all, no one has wrought with greater ability and learning, and no one more successfully, than Chancellor Kent.

Between Blackstone's Commentaries, — the great law-book of England, and Kent's Commentaries, — the great law-book of this country, there are, indeed, striking points of resemblance as well as of difference. When, in 1757, Viner

founded the Vinerian Professorship of Law in Oxford, neither the emoluments nor the dignity of the office were sufficient to call from the Bench or the Bar any one who had already climbed the steep ascent and won the highest honors of the profession. William Blackstone, at the age of thirty, had made up his mind that he could not succeed in his profession. Retiring to his fellowship at Oxford, there, in 1753, he read lectures on the laws of England, and continued to read them, with great approbation; and probably from this circumstance, he was appointed Vinerian Professor. On the 25th of October, 1758, he read his first lecture, which now stands prefixed to his Commentaries as an introduction. This was followed by other lectures, which were published — with some alterations no doubt, but with what we know not — in 1765 and the four following years, under the title which they have ever since retained. Even before they were published, these lectures had given him so high a reputation, that he ventured to return to the business of his profession, and met with fair success. In 1770, he was made a judge, and died, holding that office, in 1780.

Probably no work of equal magnitude, and treating of a grave subject, ever met with success so immediate and so entire as this did. It was, indeed, received enthusiastically; it was said, at the time, that no English gentleman considered his library complete without a copy of this work. The author lived less than eleven years after the first publication; but before his death, seven successive editions were called for; since his death, there have been some twenty editions in England, and nearly half as many in this country. There were many reasons for the early success of this work, some good and some bad. In the first place, Blackstone had the ground all to himself. There was no other book which even offered to introduce a student to all the provinces of the English law. Up to that time, students, as we have intimated, groped their way in darkness. "Until of late," said Lord Mansfield, "I could never, with any satisfaction to myself, point out a book proper for the perusal of a student; but since the publication of Mr. Blackstone's Commentaries, I can never be at a loss."

This extreme difficulty of learning the law widened and deepened the separation which had always existed, and, at least until the millennium, will exist, between those who are

and those who are not lawyers. The law was a mystery. The sages who penetrated behind the veil, learned, in the dark recesses to which they found a way, words of power over the fates and fortunes of their ignorant brethren. And when a book appeared which almost promised to make "every man his own lawyer," no wonder that many men were ready to buy and to read. The country gentlemen of England caught at the means of emancipation with somewhat of the same eagerness with which we may suppose the Roman people to have hastened to learn the secret formulas of their law, when, as the story goes, Cneius Cossus, the scribe of Caius Coccus, stole his master's manuscript, and made these formulas public, and thereby destroyed one potent means by which the patricians controlled the people, because, while they alone possessed these formulas, they alone knew how to "carry a case through the courts."

Reaction soon followed; even in his own day, it became a question whether the Commentaries were quite so good a book as some had thought. Men found that reading Blackstone would not make them lawyers. And the old men, upon whose heads the dust of many law books mingled with the snow of many winters, and into whose heads something of that dust had penetrated, if the snow had not, — lifted up a voice of fervid indignation. Should a young man, whose eye was not yet dim, and who had not undergone their long seclusion and their hard labor, undertake to be a learned lawyer; — should he even try to make it easy to learn what it had been the burthen of their life to acquire; — and worst of all, should he be permitted to found a heresy so dangerous, as that it was possible to speak of law as a scholar and a gentleman would wish to speak of all things? No; this book might be written with consummate elegance, and even exhibit — not often, and never obtrusively — but yet exhibit sometimes the charm of eloquence, and sometimes go for illustration to literature, or even to imagination; but if this were so, then, by that very fact, the book proved itself to be no true law book. A good specimen of this manner of thinking may be found in Austin's Outline, page 63.

So the controversy began, and so it raged, and it has continued, in a less degree, even to this day. On the whole, however, lawyers are now pretty well agreed upon the merits

of Blackstone's Commentaries. It is generally if not universally admitted, that as an introductory book it is admirable, but that it certainly cannot, of itself, make one a good lawyer, however diligent his study or clear his comprehension of its contents. For no book has been written, or ever will be written, which could do this. Nevertheless, the unprofessional man, who would learn the general principles of the law, and get a just idea of the origin and constitution of the courts, and the method of their practice, will find now, as he found on the day of its first publication, that this book tells him what no other English book can tell him.

In 1798, James Kent, then a lawyer in high practice, who had filled many public offices, was made Judge of the Supreme Court of New York. In 1804, he was appointed Chief Justice. In 1814, he was appointed Chancellor of New York. This office he held until 1823, when, being sixty years old, the law of New York (since repealed) pronounced him to be superannuated, and his place was vacated. This "fiction of the law" was a most useful one to our whole country. Mr. Kent accepted the office of Professor of Law in Columbia College, in New York, and began there to lecture in February, 1824, and continued to lecture until 1827. His lectures attracted great attention, and in 1826 he began to publish them. The first volume appeared in that year, the second in 1827, the third in 1828, and the fourth in 1830. They were published as "Commentaries on American Law," which title they bear now.*

The success of this work was almost as great as that of Blackstone. It was not so eagerly welcomed, so enthusiastically received by the community at large; but it was far better received by the profession. To them it was indeed a valuable gift; and its value was acknowledged by all. If it is surprising that so severe and long continued a controversy could exist about a law book as that which began with the first appearance of Blackstone, and accompanied it through nearly the whole of its history, it is hardly less surprising

* While these pages are going through the press, we learn with great pleasure, that Judge Kent is now preparing a biography of his father. We know of none at present, except a very brief memoir by his old friend, William Johnson, Reporter of the Supreme Court of New York, which is published in the second volume of the National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans.

that a great book like Kent's could be received at once by such a doubting and denying generation as that of lawyers, and quietly obtain universal favor, with nothing of doubt, nothing of denial, and nothing of reaction. Blackstone had the advantage of making the first book of the kind; but since his day, books intended to explain the law and facilitate its study have multiplied almost indefinitely; Kent's is hardly the hundredth. But, on the other hand, Blackstone was an unknown man, while Kent was known through the length and breadth of the whole country, as one of its best lawyers. Hence, his work was bought at once; few waited to hear what others thought of it; the author's reputation and position were guaranty enough; and Mr. Kent, who died in 1847, lived to publish six editions of his Commentaries.

One defect, common to both of these works, arises from the manner in which they were originally written. They were lectures before classes of young men; and as there is always an objection to mingle distinct topics in one lecture, or to take up in the middle of a lecture or near its close a new topic which cannot be exhausted, or to carry a subject over to another time, if a little compression can avoid this, it is obvious that the fulness of investigation and minuteness of detail must depend somewhat upon the accident of time, which must be their measure. Hence some topics are discussed almost diffusely, while others of equal or great importance are, both by Blackstone and Kent, presented with extreme compactness and severe brevity.

Kent does not cover so much ground as Blackstone; or rather he does not treat of the same topics. His order is not nearly so precise and systematic as that which Blackstone borrowed from Hale's Analysis, and Hale in a good degree from the Civil Law. Nor is the American work so continuous, so much one book, as the English. Many of the chapters, or lectures, of Kent are distinct treatises; each by itself full, clear, and independent. Thus, his chapters on the Domestic Relations constitute the best text-book on that subject in the English language; and are used for that purpose at the Law School in Cambridge. Blackstone says almost nothing of International Law, and but little more than nothing of Equity Jurisprudence, and, we had almost said,

worse than nothing of the Law of Contracts, of Bailments, of Insurance, and of many other important heads of Commercial Law. And it is precisely here that Kent is strongest. But on the other hand, upon Criminal Law, the practice of the courts, and the whole subject of forms of action and the rules of pleading, in regard to most of which Blackstone is very full, and as to all of them excellent, Kent is silent. Nor does either of these writers treat specifically of the important topic, Evidence.

They are both remarkably accurate; in this important respect, we place them both very near the head of the text-books of the law in our language. Few equal them; very few, if any, surpass them. The assailants of Blackstone have sometimes charged him with inaccuracy; but the list of errors even imputed to him is small; that proved, very small. We should, of course, add much to Kent's Commentaries before it would be a complete work, covering the whole ground of American law; and we might wish to vary the language occasionally, where the words used do not express the author's meaning with accuracy and precision; but of positive errors we know of few or none.

We happened to notice one instance in which Kent acknowledges, in a note, that an important statement of his has been much doubted by the Supreme Court of the United States, where, had not his modesty accepted the seeming doubt at once, he might have found that it was only a misquotation which had misled the court, and that his own statement was impregnable. The question is, whether a contract, purporting and intended to be one of marriage, is a valid marriage, when made without any of the forms or ceremonies, civil or religious, prescribed by law or usage. Kent says, (2 vol. p. 87,) "If the contract be made *per verba de præsenti*, and remains without cohabitation, or if made *per verba de futuro*, and be followed by consummation, it amounts to a valid marriage in the absence of all civil regulations to the contrary, and which the parties (being competent as to age and consent) cannot dissolve; and it is equally binding as if made in *facie ecclesiæ*." A case involving this question was tried in South Carolina, and this passage of Kent was referred to as the law on the subject; but with the omission of the clause "in the absence of all civil regulations to the con-

trary." The court accepted this passage, so cited, as stating the law, and so instructed the jury. The case was taken by appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States; and in the decision given by Chief Justice Taney, the same question is presented, omitting the same words, and the court say, "Upon the point thus decided, this court is equally divided; and no opinion can therefore be given." The difference is obvious. Kent says a contract of marriage, without special forms, is valid, when there are no civil regulations to the contrary; a conclusion which can hardly be denied; at all events, the Supreme Court do not say they doubt this, for what they doubt is, whether such a marriage can be considered valid, without any reference to the civil regulations which may relate to the subject.

And it is a remarkable instance of the "uncertainty of the law," that upon this most interesting and important question, as to the validity of a marriage made by the consent and contract of the parties only, but without any regard to special forms, modes, or ceremonies, not only is the Supreme Court of the United States divided in opinion, but in England also, when the same question came before the House of Lords, which is their supreme judicature, the Lords were equally divided, (10 Clark and Finnelly, p. 534); Lords Brougham, Denman, and Campbell asserting the validity of such marriage at common law, while Lords Lyndhurst, Cottenham, and Abinger denied it.

For the student, both Blackstone and Kent are necessary, and equally necessary. He who at the beginning of his studies can have access to but one of them, must of course content himself with that; but we should never entertain the question which of the two should be chosen, for the ability to choose implies that both are within reach; and when that is the case, both must be read. Blackstone first, not as prior in worth, or in instructiveness, but as earlier in time, and giving much more fully the origin and history and antiquities of the law. And let us say, that a knowledge of the ancient principles of the law is the only sure and safe foundation for a knowledge of existing law; for of this science, more than of any other, may it be truly said, that the past is the parent of the present. Many of the old rules are obsolete; they have lost their positive authority; and he who learns them

may never perhaps find them in his hand as the instrument of practice. But never will he know how to use his instruments, unless he has learned their origin and history, and knows how they grew into their present shape and acquired their present power. All that *is* in the law constantly refers to all that *was*, as its best interpreter. Indeed, a knowledge of the earlier law is the unfailing test, which discriminates between the empiric who has labored to acquire only the knowledge which he expects to sell from day to day, and who, if he knows enough to bring an action, or examine a witness, or argue before a jury, can give no reason for what he knows, — and the sound and genuine lawyer, to whom the empiric must go in all his difficulties, and to whom the client is sure to find his way, when he feels that great interests are involved in the determination of great questions.

When Blackstone has been read, then Kent must follow; and when both have been studied as they should be studied, the student is prepared to go forth in what direction he will, pursuing the different branches of his science by the help of special text-books and the Reports, well prepared to find his labors for the most part easy, and always profitable.

But we must not forget that we are not writing for a law journal; nor should we have touched upon this subject at all, but for the interest which the study of the law should have for all men in the community. Education has a wider meaning now than ever before. It is beginning to be admitted — more as yet in theory than in practice, for so great a truth demands ages for its full development and perfect work, — that all men should know all the things which all men will be the wiser and the better and the happier for knowing. Not that all men must know thoroughly all sciences, for this is of course impossible, and any efforts which aimed at this result would be foolish and ineffectual. But there are two opinions growing up on this subject, side by side, which must have a great influence on the progress of science on the one hand, and on the course of general education on the other. One is, that the various departments of human knowledge have already become so extended, that no scholar can, for any good purpose, attempt to master them all; but that a division of labor being adopted, each must select his specialty, and may then hope to extend the domain of know-

ledge. The other is, that all true science springs from general principles, and these may be few, simple but yet luminous, acquired without great difficulty, and throwing all around them a clear and broad illustration. The reproach of "superficiality" is often made very foolishly. He who knows something of many sciences, but not so much of any one as its professed devotee, may or may not be superficial in his knowledge. It is not a question of quantity, but of quality. If he has burthened his memory with a mass of diversified facts, which he has never made his own by independent thought, and which are therefore barren and unproductive in his own mind, he is superficial, however large the mass may be. He has cut off trees from their roots and stuck them into his garden; and because they have no roots, they will have neither leaf, nor fruit, nor life. However full his mind may be, it is made up of other men's minds, and it is not his own, to use or to enjoy. But if he has wrought the truths he has acquired into principles; if he has, in such measure as he could, harmonized them, and bound them together by the chain of mutual relation, and learned to discern the light they cast upon objects all around him, and to see those objects the more clearly by that light, then is he wiser for all he knows, although he has gathered a little from all the sciences named in an encylopedia.

There is, just now, some outcry about the great number of studies pursued in our colleges, and the variety lately introduced into our public schools. There may be some foundation for this; but the way to remedy the mischief is, to find out how all may be taught without mutual interference, and how much of each may be taught as the living germ of the whole; and it is a fact of happy omen, that some wise men are now earnest in the endeavor to do this. But to say that because the whole cannot be learned, nothing should be taught, is to utter mere nonsense. In the first place, no one can, or ever will, learn the whole of any one science; for it is of God's providence and mercy that the boundaries of knowledge ever recede as they are approached. And, in the next place, much and little in this relation derive their meaning from the age in which they are spoken. A child at a common school may easily learn more, at this day, of many sciences, than Roger Bacon, or Lord Bacon, ever knew;

and they were not superficial men. We cannot learn all of any thing; but the question in each case is, will that which we can learn prove itself worth the learning. Take, for example, the science of Physiology, which has been lately, after some conflict, introduced into some of our public schools. Certainly the child will not — unless he becomes a physician — read a dozen octavo volumes on this subject, and stand with the surgeon at a dissecting table; but it is not sensible to say, that *therefore* he shall know *nothing* of the internal structure of his body, or of the simple laws of life and health; for every one may easily learn enough of this to be of practical utility to himself and others.

So, too, we hold that everybody should know something of the constitution and laws of his country; and we hope the day will come, when, in every school, the grammar of this science will be taught as well as the grammar of his language. Already, at many of our law schools, provision is made for those who enter them, not to become lawyers, but to learn commercial law. And already there are those in these schools, who are there only to complete their education, by adding to it a knowledge of the law as a science. And we think the time is not far distant, when every educated man will feel that it becomes him to know something of the law under which he lives. We can hardly forbear from enlarging upon the peculiar necessity of this, in a country like our own. Here, all men are not lawyers — far are we from wishing that they should be so — but all men select their law-makers, and very many men take their turn in the work of law-making: — a work, after all, of some importance, and which is likely to be better done, when it is not done, as it is at present, by a large body divided into a great majority, ignorant both of the provisions and the principles of existing law, and a small minority who are looked upon with jealousy and suspicion because they are not equally ignorant. That the lawyers of our legislatures sometimes need watching, and pretty close watching too, we do not deny; but we rather think they would be watched to better purpose by knowledge than by ignorance. And here is one reason, even if there were no other, why the study of the law, wisely measured and modified, should become one of the generally required studies of all the citizens of this country.

If the question be put to us by the general student, which of these two books shall I read, for I cannot read more than one, — we have no difficulty in our answer. Take Kent; — you will find in him some chapters which will give you more information on our constitutions, and upon the spirit and working of our institutions, than in any other book which has yet been written. You will find in these Commentaries the law of to-day; and the law of commerce and contract, stated with a fulness due to its proportionate importance. You will not find, and you will not miss, long chapters upon matters exclusively English, and others upon systems or principles which have fallen into disuse, and which, however necessary to him who would be an accomplished lawyer, cannot be of any use to the reader of Blackstone, who does not intend to follow up this reading by a diligent study of the law in its sources. In his preface to his second volume, Chancellor Kent hopes that his work will be found useful "to gentlemen in every pursuit, and especially to those who are to assume places of public trust, and to take a share in the business and in the councils of our country."

It is a little remarkable that Kent, so far as we can judge from his prefaces, thought only of law students, of men of general inquiry, or of the junior members of the profession, as those to whom his book might be useful. And yet it has been found by the working lawyer to be of the greatest and most especial value to him. We doubt whether there is any other book — we are sure there is no other of the size and cost of this — to be found in so many law-offices. And the reason is obvious. It is accurate, it covers nearly the whole ground of common practice, and it carries with it a high authority. In this respect Blackstone does not enter into comparison with it. His Commentaries are not now often quoted as an authority, either in England or this country, not because they cannot be trusted, but because they seldom apply with full adaptation to the existing questions of this day. Kent's are continually cited. In some of our Reports, he is not only referred to, case after case, but the other authorities cited are so exactly what he cites and no other, that it almost seems as if the case were argued on this book alone. But as the book was neither written nor annotated with a special view to this purpose, much remained to be

done to give it its greatest possible utility in this respect; and this is precisely what has been done in this edition of the work.

William Kent, the son of the Chancellor, who has held judicial office in New York, and has filled the chair of the Dane Professorship in the Law School of Harvard University, and who, in both capacities, added honors to an honored name, now edits his father's work. His associate in this labor was Dorman Bridgman Eaton, who, after graduating at the Law School in Cambridge with the highest honors of that large institution, established himself in New York and has devoted himself almost exclusively to this work. Mr. Kent says, in his brief and modest preface, that the present edition has been prepared by him, "with the full and equal coöperation of his friend Dorman Bridgman Eaton, Esq., who has lately become a resident of New York; and whose learning and talents must hereafter, in their independent exercise, become manifest to the profession."

These gentlemen have left the original text and notes of the Chancellor untouched; but have added all that could be gleaned from English or American authorities, to make this book present the last results of the jurisprudence of both countries. The law of this country, as it exists at this moment, may be found here by the student who reads only that he may know, or by the working lawyer who seeks something that he may use. Another important improvement is in the Index; it is far more full and minute. To the student, an Index is of comparatively little value; to the lawyer it is of the first importance, and upon its fulness, its wise arrangement, and its accuracy, depends the available worth of the best law book. The Index now added to Kent's Commentaries increases exceedingly the practical value and utility of this work.

We should be glad to show more specifically what the zeal, learning, and ability of Messrs. Kent and Eaton have done for this edition. But it would be impossible within any moderate limits, and inappropriate to the character of our Journal. We will, however, state that a rough estimate, based upon a comparison of the Table of Cases in the two editions, shows that references to about eleven hundred cases, and about one hundred statutes, have been added to this

edition. The references do not merely give the name, volume, and page of the case, but generally present such a statement of its facts and law, that the reader may judge of its relevance, and know whether it would be useful to him. The compact brevity of these citations, their skilful arrangement, and the use of a smaller type, compress them within so narrow a space, that the bulk of the volumes is not very materially enlarged. The reader, who might like to test the value and interest of these additions, we would refer to the subjects of Admiralty jurisdiction, License cases, and Passenger laws, in the first volume. To volume second, page 446, for the late cases on trademarks — a most interesting and as yet uncertain branch of the law. In the same volume, page 455, we have an interesting case on copyright, decided in England not nine months ago, and now republished in an American work of 2,500 pages. On page 558, much new light is thrown on the difficult subject of *donatio causa mortis*. On page 823, all is done that can be done to determine the right of the factor to sell the goods of his principal — a question upon which the authorities cannot be reconciled. In the third volume, p. 162, a singular state of the law is shown, on the subject of guaranties as affected by the statute of frauds. And on page 164, (all our citations are from the new paging, not the old, which is retained on the margin of the page,) the total want of uniformity or consistency in the law of the several States, as to the rights and liabilities of a third party who writes his name on the back of negotiable paper, is very clearly exhibited. But we must forbear. Let us add only that we congratulate both lawyers who must be, and men of education and liberal inquiry, all of whom ought to be, readers of Kent's Commentaries, that the learning and industry of Mr. Kent and Mr. Eaton have left to them who would find a general but entirely trustworthy statement of existing law, upon any of the topics embraced within these four volumes, nothing to desire.

ART. V. — 1. *Kunst und Künstler in Paris.* Von DR. G. F. WAAGEN.

2. *Revue des Deux Mondes.* Paris.

WITHIN a few years, a taste for the fine arts has been rapidly developing itself in this country. The plea so often urged heretofore, that from so young a people little encouragement in this matter is to be expected, can no longer avail. Russia is, in one sense, a young country. A century since, she was just emerging from barbarism; but St. Petersburgh now boasts some of the finest galleries in Europe, and the Emperor sends for Horace Vernet and other artists of eminence, from all parts of Europe, to decorate his palaces. Our rich men have, of late years, shown themselves liberal patrons of art; and in our country, where so much which in Europe is effected by government is left to private enterprise, it is to individuals chiefly that artists must look for encouragement and patronage. But it becomes, for this reason, the more necessary that the most judicious mode of assisting young men, who wish to devote themselves to the study of the fine arts, should be duly considered; and we venture, therefore, to offer a few hints upon this subject.

In Europe, as we have said, government takes the lead in the protection of art; and this branch of the administration being usually in the hands of men of taste and experience, every possible means are afforded of encouraging and assisting rising talent. Besides, when a young man chooses the profession of an artist, he attaches himself to some particular school, or to some painter of eminence, who directs his studies, and, discerning immediately the branch in which he is most likely to succeed, points out to him the path he ought to pursue. But when a young American, who has evinced some talent, and has been fortunate enough to find a wealthy patron, is sent abroad to study, he starts with very little previous instruction, and a very insufficient knowledge of drawing; and having no one to whom he can look for the advice and candid criticism which the great painter bestows on his pupils, much of his time is wasted, his efforts are ill-directed, and his early faults strengthened rather than corrected. Thus the generosity of individuals is often almost

entirely thrown away, though without the fault or intention of the young artist who is the object of it. Perhaps all this might be avoided, and a permanent benefit be conferred on all American artists, if those persons who are able and willing to devote any considerable sum to such a purpose, should agree to found a school, either at Rome, Florence, or even Paris, and placing it under the direction of some distinguished artist, afford their young countrymen an opportunity of studying with more profit than they have hitherto done, or, in other words, of pursuing some definite aim, which, in the acquisition of every kind of knowledge, is the only way of insuring success. The French Academy at Rome is an instance of the sort of school we mean. It was established in 1,666, at the urgent entreaty of the painter Lebrun, for the purpose of enabling young artists to study free of expense in Italy. The Villa Medicis, on the Pincian Hill, was purchased by the French government, and there such young men as have obtained the first prizes at the *École des Beaux Arts*, Paris, are lodged, boarded, and instructed for the period of three years. One of the most eminent artists in France is always Director of the Academy, and there Ingres, Vernet, and Delaroche have in turn presided.

Yet the country which considers this an essential means of improvement for the artist has innumerable resources to offer him. The traveller who hurries through France, his mind filled with delightful anticipations of all that awaits him beyond the Alps, has no idea how much this fair land possesses to interest him. With the Roman ruins at Arles and Nismes most tourists are acquainted, and that because they are on the high road to Italy. The English, among whom a taste for Gothic architecture is generally diffused, usually stop at Rouen on coming from England, to visit its beautiful cathedral and the glorious old church of St. Ouen ; but few among them are aware how many treasures of the same kind the provincial towns of France contain. Six or seven cathedral churches of the greatest beauty, chateaux both public and private, venerable old town-houses, the curious old castle of Mont St. Michel, that gem of Gothic art, which, standing on the sea-beaten shores of Normandy, is now the prison of political offenders, the fairy palace of Chambord, presented

to the Duke of Bordeaux when in his cradle, and of which De Vigny has given such an exquisite description in his Cinq-Mars, — all render a tour in the French provinces an exquisite enjoyment to every person of taste; and if the traveller often passes by so much that is worthy of interest, so does not the artist. In these splendid relics of a departed age, in the historical recollections they awaken, in the quaint costumes of the peasantry, in the gay uniforms of the soldiery, the most graceful and picturesque in the world, in the gorgeous ceremonies of the Romish Church, there is something constantly to arouse the imagination of the artist. Beside all this, the natural result of an ancient monarchy, the capital offers him immense resources in its public and private galleries; in its libraries, with their rich collections of engravings, all of which are open to the public free of expense; in the stage, with its admirable scenery and perfect accuracy of historical costume, to furnish which taste, research, and money are alike liberally poured out. Yet even all that we have mentioned would be insufficient to form the artist; and in order to provide for his early training to his profession, government has established its schools of Design, of Fine Arts, of Architecture, and the Academy at Rome.

And let us not be discouraged by the thought that many of the means of improvement placed before the French artist are the slow growth of centuries; or that, out of Italy, no nation ever possessed them in so high a degree as the French. There are some which taste and money can supply in our own day and country.

If, on the other hand, we are to have distinguished artists, we should have a public capable of appreciating them; and no method of securing one would be more effectual than that of causing drawing to be more generally and profoundly taught. It may be said, and with some truth, that in our country, where there are few hereditary fortunes, and almost every one is engaged in active life, few men have the leisure to devote much time to acquiring that knowledge of art which in Europe is found among amateurs. Still, many have some idle hours, which, had drawing formed a part of their early education, might be pleasantly and profitably devoted to this employment. And for a woman, no accomplishment can be more graceful, or more suitable; it offers an agreea-

ble occupation for her leisure hours, a subject of conversation in society, and a source of interest and thought always. "*Dans le salon, l'on médisait peu, car l'on avait de quoi dire,*" says a clever French woman, speaking of the receptions of Gérard, the painter; * and it were well if, in all times and countries, a love of the arts could banish scandal and gossip from society. To draw correctly, much greater application is necessary than in this country we are usually disposed to bestow on this study. In Europe, we have known many instances of women of rank and fortune, fond of society and partaking in its amusements, and not negligent of domestic duties either, spending a portion of almost every day in this pursuit. For a woman to devote three or four years to drawing from casts, before ever taking brush in hand, is no uncommon thing; and it is by such persevering application, by frequently visiting picture galleries in the society of persons of experienced taste, and by reading carefully and repeatedly a few good works on art, that distinguished amateurs are formed.

"A just feeling in the fine arts," says Sir Charles Bell, "is an elegant acquirement and capable of cultivation. Drawing is necessary to many pursuits and useful arts. Locke has included it among the accomplishments becoming a gentleman, and we may add, it is much more useful to the artisan. Good taste and execution in design are necessary to manufactures, and consequently they contribute to the resources of a country."

If this be true, as undoubtedly it is, we have here an additional inducement to diffuse the taste for drawing in America. The superiority of the French in all matters where taste is called to the aid of mechanical skill, is in great measure to be traced to their schools of design; and those persons in England who turned their attention to this subject a few years since, were so convinced of this fact, that they induced the British government to establish one at Somerset House, and since then to open several others. In decorative, as well as in the higher branches of art, good teachers and a regular course of instruction are requisite; and if the establishment of schools of design serves, as we believe it does, to raise the

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* *Les Salons Célèbres*, par Sophie Gay.

public taste and instruct those who have any aptitude in this way, why should our larger cities be without them?

Among the means of improvement within our reach, that of obtaining good pictures is a very important one; and here we must venture a remark which may surprise some of our readers. In this country, we do not usually fall into the error of preferring the old to the new; yet in matters of taste, we appear disposed to give our preference to the former; and to possess a doubtful original of some old master, seems much more desirable than to obtain the best work of the best living artist. And this is easily explained; for on all subjects which we have not had time or opportunity to investigate for ourselves, we take the opinions handed down to us by the judgment of ages. It would be a curious study, in truth, to determine on how many subjects the most thoughtful of us has formed his own opinions, or taken them ready made from the hands of those he believes competent to offer them. In painting, therefore, we bow instinctively to the taste of those who have gone before us; and to a certain extent, we are right. For what modern works of art can rival those which Raphael or Michael Angelo executed, which the Medicis praised, and the most distinguished artists have not disdained to copy? When can Florence hope to see a renewal of the artistic glory she enjoyed in the palmy days of her republic? or what future Pope will be surrounded by so much genius as accompanied Leo X.? The art of printing has, in a measure, taken the place of her elder sisters; and these seem destined henceforth to occupy but a secondary place in the history of the world. Still, as long as the love of the beautiful exists in the human breast, painting and sculpture cannot be disdained. They serve to embody thoughts which language has not power to utter; they convey lessons of wisdom and virtue to the ignorant and the unenlightened; and without their aid, many a noble deed would hardly have reached posterity. Indeed, were it only to reward our great men, we should lend a fostering hand to art. Look at France, where there is scarcely a town of any importance which cannot show a statue of its distinguished man, and these not only warriors, but men of science and of letters. Thus, at Rouen, we find one of the great Corneille; at Montbard, that of Buffon; at Meaux that of its illustrious Bishop, Bossuet; at

Chateau Thierry, that of La Fontaine, etc. In Prussia, after France the most enlightened country of continental Europe, we find statues of Bulow, Scharnhorst and Blücher on the most public promenade of Berlin. And it is worthy of our attention, that in Italy, where freedom and national independence have long since ceased to exist, where every generous and patriotic feeling is checked, with the exception of the equestrian statue of Philibert Emmanuel of Sardinia, there has scarcely been, within the last half century, one public monument erected to a distinguished man.

To honor the worth of the great of yore, to render the most fervent homage to the genius of departed ages, should be at once a duty and a pleasure. Our enthusiasm for the great artists of other days can be carried too far only when it renders us unjust to living merit; and it is because we see a tendency to this sort of injustice in the appreciation usually made of the French school, that we wish now to devote a few pages to its principal painters.

With the works of English artists, we in America are familiar; with those of German artists, the Düsseldorf Gallery in New York has made us acquainted; but of French art, we judge chiefly from the showy and faulty pictures of a few indifferent artists which have found their way to this country, or from colored lithographs, which in France would only ornament the porter's lodge or the milliner's rooms. Highly as we esteem the schools of Düsseldorf and Münich, we believe that of France to have equal claims to our interest and admiration. Each has merits peculiar to itself, and to recognize those of one it is not necessary to undervalue the other. The study of contemporary painters is necessary to the education of the amateur as well as of the artist; but the former should always endeavor to preserve the freedom of his judgment, and admit with equal candor the beauties and defects which in every school are found united; and the latter, while he endeavors to profit by the experience of all, should not yield exclusively to the influence of either. Our language, our literature, are those of England; and it is not strange that English painters should have exerted an influence over those of America. But is it desirable? Although England can boast of several really great sculptors in our own day, her painters are unquestionably inferior, both as

draftsmen and colorists, to those of France and Germany. And beside, ought we not to aim at a *national* school of art? Our country offers every variety of shrub and tree, our autumn foliage is unrivalled, our landscapes varied and picturesque, our sunsets gorgeous as those of Italy, and our atmosphere possesses a transparency which excites the wonder and admiration of Europeans. The painter, who, taking advantage of these peculiarities, should study successfully the singular effects of light and shade in our climate, might achieve a lasting reputation by that alone. It is the privilege of genius to throw a halo around whatever it touches; it is the mark of the great painter, as well as of the great poet, either to discover what by the multitude has hitherto been passed unseen, or to invest the familiar and the diurnal with a fresh charm. No two minds view the same subject exactly in the same manner; and no two painters, if each have real talent, will represent the same object in exactly the same way. The leaves of an oak are said to resemble each other in form and color, while no two leaves exactly similar can ever be produced. It is only by preserving his own individuality, after carefully studying the works of others; it is only by transferring to canvas that which strikes his own mind and his own imagination most forcibly, that an artist can rise above mediocrity. He must have learned to think, to feel, to see, for himself, yet without slighting the knowledge or underrating the powers of those who have gone before him, before he can unite originality of conception with the skilful execution which practice and persevering execution alone can give. It was thus that Decamps, visiting the East, which thousands had visited before him, brought back and placed before us its life, its customs, its manners, as we had never seen them represented before. It was thus that Robert, charmed with the peasant life of Italy, devoted himself to the representation of those scenes which so many other artists, although struck with their picturesqueness, had never thought of choosing for their pictures, and made to himself a noble place among the painters of the day. But before speaking of modern French artists, we must be permitted to say a few words of those of former times.

Francis I. was the first French monarch who patronized the arts to any considerable extent; but it was to foreigners,

and those chiefly Italians, that he was obliged to have recourse for the embellishment of his palaces. With the exception of Jean Goujon, not one artist of eminent merit, of lasting renown, appeared in France in that age. A century later, she could boast of an admirable school of painting. Philippe de Champagne is still considered one of the best portrait painters who ever took brush in hand; some of Valentine's pictures evince considerable skill; and of the classical elegance of Nicolas Poussin, of the perfection of Claude's coloring, we need say nothing. The same period likewise gave birth to a painter, who is perhaps better known as the master of three of the most distinguished painters of the seventeenth century, than by his own works, although the gallery of the Louvre contains several of them. Simon Vouet was his name; Le Brun, Le Sueur, and Mignard were his pupils. The works of the two former were characterized by ease and breadth of composition; and when we consider that Le Sueur only lived to attain his thirty-eighth year, we cannot but feel how much more he would have achieved had his life been spared longer. Mignard's pictures are remarkable for grace and sweetness; the *Vierge au Raisin*, so-called from the bunch of grapes which the mother holds in her hand, is a good specimen of his manner, and a very pleasing picture of a young mother and child.

But after these great painters had disappeared, and the longest life among them ended before the eighteenth century began, the arts seemed for a period to have utterly degenerated in France; and it could not well be otherwise. The Regency of Orleans and the reign of Louis XV. were ill calculated to inspire noble thoughts or deeds, or to encourage in the breast of the artist that love of a pure and holy fame without which he can achieve nothing truly great. Art was, in those degenerate days, just what the court of Louis XV. was competent to admire. Bonchu and Watteau, whose vivid and showy coloring caught and charmed the eye, were the favorite painters of the day. Both delighted in the representation of the Loves and the Graces, or of shepherds and shepherdesses in velvets and satins; all was light, airy, and graceful in their paintings, and well suited to the decoration of the walls and ceilings of the palaces which they still adorn.

There were two other artists, however, living at that time, who deserve to be excepted from what we have said. Joseph Vernet's sea-pieces are truly admirable, both for the drawing and for the feeling with which they are painted. The room which contains his "Seaports of France" is not one of the least attractive of the Louvre. But Vernet painted from nature, and the corrupting influences of the age had no power over him. The same may be said of Greuze; and although the subjects he chose for his pencil are not of a lofty kind, he has treated them with a simplicity and truth one is almost astonished to meet with at that period. His two pictures, *Le Départ* and *Le Retour*, the first representing the departure from his father's house of a young man amidst the tears of his sisters and the curses of his father, the second representing, the return of the young man to the paternal roof, have much pathos and beauty. But for grace and charm of coloring, what picture can rival that known as the "Broken Pitcher?" The blue eyes, the round cheek, the rosy lips, the open countenance of that young girl can never be recalled without pleasure; nor is it possible to pass, however hurriedly, through the great gallery of the Louvre, without pausing for a moment to smile back upon that lovely and ingenuous face, as it smiles upon you from the canvas.

Greuze lived till 1807; and we must not omit to mention, that to him we owe a portrait of Napoleon, taken when the latter was only twenty-two years old, and a captain of artillery. The coloring is unmistakably that of Greuze; but what reason could have induced him to paint the portrait of a young man who, at that time, could scarcely have possessed the means of ordering a work from the first painter of the day, and who was quite unknown to fame, we know not. It is probable that the artist was sufficiently struck by the features and expression of the young officer to wish to preserve them; and the somewhat careless manner in which the portrait is painted confirms us in the suggestion, that it was intended merely as a study. But who can look on it without emotion? There are the well known features, though softer and rounder than we usually see them portrayed; the aquiline nose, the firm and well-formed mouth, united to all the freshness and ingenuousness of youth. Count Las Cases, the son of the author of the Memorial of St. Helena, is the present

possessor of this charming portrait, which has been engraved by Blanchard, of Paris.

Despite the two brilliant exceptions we have just named, art was at a wretchedly low ebb when the Revolution of 1789 broke out. Jean Louis David was destined to regenerate the French school and, though he undoubtedly erred in many respects, to restore to it the correctness of design and the dignity it possessed under Nicolas Poussin. An ardent republican, the political principles of the citizen were never forgotten in the enthusiasm of the artist. It was with the heroes of Greece and Rome that he covered his canvas. The death of the sons of Brutus, and the three Horatii receiving their swords from their father, — such were the subjects he chose, and these he treated with characteristic sternness. To touch the softer emotions of the beholder was what he never attempted; and had he done so, he would probably have failed. Perhaps the most striking proof of this may be found in his "Death of Marat." This odious wretch is represented at the moment when he has just received his death blow; the crimson blood is streaming from the wound in his breast, and his head, enveloped in a checked handkerchief, is sinking back. The repulsive effect of the subject is increased by the manner in which it is treated. Marat's is the only figure in the picture. The dull gray of the leaden bathing tub, the cold green of the cloth which covers a board thrown across the bath, and on which is the letter he was writing when Charlotte Corday entered, are the only colors in it. There is no spot on which the eye can rest with satisfaction; and the emotions the whole calls forth are only those of aversion and disgust. It is not a work of art, but rather a curious memento of that most extraordinary political fanaticism which could deify such a monster as Marat. Still, David was undoubtedly a very distinguished painter, and the founder of a new school. Napoleon encouraged and liberally rewarded him; the Passage of Mount St. Bernard, the Coronation, and several other larger compositions, were painted by his order; and it is among the instances of this great man's political sagacity, that he patronized a painter whom the government of the Restoration afterwards banished as a republican and a regicide!

David formed four scholars, of whom three at least pos-

sessed no ordinary merit; the fourth, Girodet, seems to have exaggerated all the defects of the school to which he belonged. In his large picture of the Deluge, the contortions of the figures are painfully unnatural; that of Chactas and the hermit consigning the beautiful Atala to the tomb is far more agreeable. But Girodet was always deficient in warmth of coloring and easy action, which justifies the remark that his figures seem to have been copied from plaster casts rather than from life.

Of all David's pupils, Guérin comes nearest to him in correctness and elegance of design; his execution, too, is good, and in the conception of mere physical beauty he is remarkable. In his picture of "Æneas relating the fate of Troy," the eye is charmed by the queenlike beauty of Dido, the youthful grace of Anna, the noble and heroic form of the young warrior; but though the eye is pleased, the soul is not satisfied, for all sentiment, all poetry, are wanting there, and the beholder turns willingly from this Pagan representation of beauty, to seek some of those wonders of Christian art, with which the same gallery abounds.

Gérard possessed the art of coloring to a much higher degree than any painter of his time; his drawing, too, was generally correct and pure. Although his large historical paintings of the "Battle of Austerlitz," and the "Entrance of Henry IV. into Paris," are works of considerable merit, his exquisite sense of grace and color rendered him particularly successful in mythological subjects and in portrait painting. His "Cupid and Psyche," now in the Louvre, is a fair specimen of his talent; the expression of the heads is charming; the coloring fresh and agreeable, and the attitudes, especially that of Psyche, extremely graceful. Among the portraits Gérard left, those of Count and Countess Regnault de St. Jean d' Angely deserve to be noticed. The Count, as is well known, was one of the most ardent partisans of Napoleon, and the most eloquent man of his time. On the downfall of the Emperor, he came to this country; and when, after a long and painful exile, the government of Louis XVIII. revoked the decree which banished him from France, he was too much exhausted both in body and mind to bear the emotions occasioned by his return to his native land. He died on the evening of his arrival in Paris. Gérard's por-

trait of this remarkable man is one of the most striking we have ever seen. He is represented standing in the robes he wore as a member of the Tribunat, and which, of course, give a more picturesque appearance than the every-day dress of the period could have done. The fire of the eye, the rich glow of the southern complexion, and the expressive and animated countenance, all bespeak the eloquent and impassioned orator. In the other picture, the background is formed by a green curtain, which, being partially drawn aside, discloses a distant view. The Countess is seated on a red velvet bench, with her face turned towards the spectator. Her white dress is made with the short waist then worn, and however frightful the fashion in itself, in this case it sits gracefully on the wearer; the arms are bare, and painted with great skill. The head is charming; the beautiful wavy hair is parted on the forehead, and a broad plait passes like a diadem around the head; the eyes and mouth seem to speak to you. Countess Regnault was a celebrated beauty in the time of the Empire, and, at seventy, may still be considered a handsome woman.

The next painter of whom we would speak is Géricault, whose most celebrated picture is the "Shipwreck of the Medusa." Horrible as is the subject, we cannot but admire the power and truth with which the artist has treated the various emotions of hope, fear, and despair in the countenances and attitudes of his different figures. Had he lived longer, Géricault would probably have attained still greater eminence; as it is, he stands unrivalled for the truth and spirit with which he painted animals. He died in 1823, at the early age of thirty-two.

But the greatest of David's scholars was undoubtedly Gros. In 1796, having accompanied General Bonaparte to Italy, he made that sketch of the young commander-in-chief, afterwards introduced in his picture of the "Bridge of Arcola," and which a good lithograph has made familiar to many. The original sketch is now in the hands of Mr. Hogarth, in Paris. Although the coloring is defective, and may always have been so, the ardor and fire of that thin face, with the long hair floating on the shoulders, the sweetness and intellect, combined with a slight shade of melancholy, in that noble countenance, stamp it indelibly on the memory of all who have had the good fortune to behold it.

The finest of the large paintings of Gros, the "Battle of Eylau," is now at the Louvre, and to describe it we cannot do better than quote the words of M. Eugene Delacroix, who adds to his talent as an artist the merit of writing well and simply on art.

"This picture," says he, "appeared in 1808. The subject of it had been given to several artists, but the sketch by Gros instantly obtained the preference. It is the third of his great epic pages, and commended him most to our admiration. We find here, as in the "Plague at Jaffa" and the "Battle of Aboukir," * a wonderful power of idealizing, and that admirable art, known only to great masters, of carrying to its full extent the effect produced by the subject of a picture. Thus, in the "Plague at Jaffa," the plague is everywhere; the stifling dome of the mosque seems to shut it in upon the scene. How different, too, is the misery of those men from the misery of men who are starving or dying of their wounds. In the "Battle of Aboukir," the very faults of the picture, the brilliancy, the diffusion of the light, the confusion in the groups, the barrenness of the landscape, with a wide extent of clear blue sky and a calm sea for its only horizon, seem to augment the impression of the impetuous rage of those two armies fighting beneath the rays of a fiery sun for a few acres of a sandy shore.

"In the representation of that heroic battle-field, where the French, greatly inferior in numbers, exhausted by their march, blinded by the snow, and half buried in the mud and ice, overthrew the barbarians of the North, the painter has spread on all sides, as far as the eye can reach, the melancholy aspect of the plains of Poland. Whole ranks, fallen where they stood, are extended beneath the snow, like sheaves of wheat lying side by side in this dreadful harvest of men. The village of Eylau is still burning to the right. The guard and the remnant of the army are still drawn up, arms in hand, on the field of carnage. Here and there a dying horse, shaking off the hoar-frost of the night, rises with a last effort on his weakened legs, and falls down again by his dead master. The Russian, the Frenchman, the Lithuanian, and the Cossack, his beard covered with icicles, have fallen together, and present but a shapeless mass under their snowy mantle. Here, a useless sword near a hand which can no longer wield it; there, a cannon buried among the ice, with an artilleryman crushed in the attempt to defend it, and whose stiffened arm still clings to it. This sinister picture, formed of a thousand pictures, seems to appeal to the eye and the mind in

* Both these pictures are now in the palace of Versailles.

every direction; yet it is but a frame to the sublime image of Napoleon. We behold him in the middle of the canvas, followed by his Marshals, and pausing on his dismal ride. One of his hands carelessly holds the reins of his horse; by the melancholy gesture with which he raises the other, he seems to deplore the horrors of war. This is perhaps the finest conception of the artist, as it is the finest likeness ever made of Napoleon. The great man should, like Alexander, have denied to all save his favorite painter the right of reproducing his image. Gros alone knew how to paint him; it is in his works only that posterity will find the immortal type of his features.

"Poetical as Achilles, and greater than all the heroes formed by the imagination of poets, he has not yet found his Homer, and Homer himself would scarcely have attempted to paint him. What can be added to what thought already lends him? His simple and true history is above all poems; his faithful image, reproduced by Gros, forbids imagination to add a touch to it."

The most important work of Gros, because on the largest scale and in a public edifice, is the dome of the Pantheon, on which he has depicted St. Genevieve as the protectress of the French monarchy, which is represented by Clovis, Charlemagne, St. Louis, and Louis XVIII., the latter probably owing his place there not so much to the choice of the painter, as to the necessity of paying this compliment to the monarch under whose reign the work was executed. But although this painting has received and deserves high praise from competent judges, it will seldom be viewed by amateurs with as much interest as the other historical pictures of Gros; perhaps because, as the subject is one which appeals less to their sympathies, it must be judged by its artistic merits, independent of all association.

The death of Gros, in 1835, was a most melancholy one. Disappointed in his wish of obtaining from government an order for the works to be executed in one of the public buildings of Paris, indignant at the neglect with which he thought the public treated the works of one on whom it had once lavished so much admiration, unable to contend with poverty, advancing age, and many petty annoyances, he, in a moment of despair, put an end to his existence by throwing himself into the Seine. With him died the last painter of the time of the Empire.

We now come to those of our own day; and although

France has men of real merit in almost every branch of art, it is chiefly of her historical painters that we now propose to speak. Nobly to conceive a great event or a touching scene of history, and, conveying to the canvas the images formed in the mind, to group them skilfully, design them correctly, portray nature, but nature idealized, and finally to throw over the whole the charm of a harmonious coloring, is the highest effort of art. We feel, when we look on a great historical painting, that not only the skilful hand and practised eye were necessary to the completion of such a work, but that the mind and heart had their full share in it; and therefore it is, that we would direct the attention of our readers to those French painters whose reputation has been obtained in this field. It is true that we shall mention one or two artists who are not, strictly speaking, historical painters, because the subjects they have treated were not taken from history, but who nevertheless deserve, from the noble simplicity and elevation of their style, to rank as such.

Ingres, on account of his rare perfection as a draftsman, may fairly be considered one of the most eminent artists of our time. Indeed, his pupils fondly believe that, since the days of Raphael, such purity and elegance of design have never been seen; it is doubtless to his profound enthusiasm for that great man that Ingres owes his great superiority in this respect, as well as the dignity and repose of his style. Although he has painted few religious pictures, he may be said to hold the same place in the French as Overbeck in the German school. As a colorist, Ingres is not faultless. There is a ceiling in the Louvre, on which he has represented Homer crowned by Victory, and receiving the homage of other great minds, of which the composition is much and justly admired, but where the coloring is too cold to be either true to nature or pleasing. Ingres paints very slowly, conscientiously, and with a constant aim to improvement, which in one already advanced in life is very remarkable. For the last few years, he has been executing some frescoes at Dampierre, (in Touraine,) the chateau of the Duc de Luynes, one of the few noblemen in France who unite the means and the taste to enable him to patronize art on a large scale. During this time, he has painted the portrait of Baroness James Rothschild, which, in warmth and depth of coloring, is considered

worthy of the Venetian school, and furnishes a proof not only that his talents are not impaired by age, but of that constant progress in which he so firmly believes, and which he so perseveringly strives after.

The genius of Paul Delaroche is as widely dissimilar from that of Ingres, as can well be imagined; the one may be said to belong to the classical, the other to the romantic school. All the subjects Delaroche has painted have been taken from modern, many from English, history, and consonant to the serious and even melancholy turn of his mind. To those — and we regret that the number should still be so large among ourselves — who are constantly declaiming against the frivolity and levity of the French character, we would oppose Delaroche, distinguished as much for his depth of character, firmness of will, dignified demeanor, and domestic virtue, as for his artistic talent. A pupil of the Academy at Rome, at the time Horace Vernet was its Director, Delaroche became acquainted with the only daughter of that artist, whom he afterwards married. Her beautiful and regular profile may be traced in many of his works, particularly in his great painting in the large hall of the *École des Beaux Arts*, where the female figure, who represents the Middle Ages, is the portrait of his wife. This interesting woman, the idol of her family, died about five years since, leaving two charming children. Of his devotion to her memory and to his sons, the friends of Delaroche speak in terms of the warmest admiration.

Two of Delaroche's pictures are at the Palace of the Luxembourg, where the works of living artists, purchased by government, are preserved. One represents Queen Elizabeth on her death-bed, supported by large pillows, dressed in a rich robe and covered with jewels, but her face pale and ghastly. She is supported by two maids of honor, in all the bloom of youth and health. The Archbishop of Canterbury and two secretaries stand near the bed, while the faithful Cecil kneels beside the Queen. A more forcible representation of vanity and royalty struggling with old age and death can scarcely be imagined; but the subject is so repulsive that we turn from it almost unmindful of the genius which could so powerfully depict it. It is with feelings far different that we look at the other painting by the same hand, which is contained in this collection. On this canvas, the artist has

traced that terrible scene which is, perhaps, one of the most touching in English history; we mean the murder of the Princes in the Tower. Seated on the side of a bed, the wood-work of which is of oak, richly carved, the brothers seem watching the sound of approaching footsteps, which the terrified countenance of the youngest tells us they suspect to be those of their intended murderers. The unfortunate boy is clinging close to his companion, as if for protection, and his fair, innocent face forms a happy contrast to that of his brother, which is grave and thoughtful beyond his years, and whose dress and bonnet of black velvet add to the gravity of his demeanor and to the sombre aspect of the whole picture. Near the door stands a little dog, startled, like his young masters, and apparently eager, like them, to catch the approaching sound. Nothing can be more striking and terrible than the silent and motionless agony with which these two young creatures await a fate for which past cruelty and dark hints had probably prepared them. At the close of the last act of Casimer Delavigne's fine tragedy, *Les Enfans d'Edouard*, the curtain drops upon a *tableau* exactly copied from this painting.

The two pictures of which we have just spoken are not the only ones in which Delaroche has treated subjects taken from English history. Some of its most thrilling scenes have been represented by him. "Charles the First insulted by the Guards" is a fine painting, in which one is at a loss which most to admire, — the noble and resigned countenance of the king, the old soldier, on whose wrinkled cheek we see the tear which his master's misfortunes have drawn from his eye, or the young cavalier whose head and attitude are noble, chivalrous, and graceful to the last degree. The picture of "Strafford, on his way to the scaffold, kneeling to receive the blessing of the aged Laud," is considered by some of the best critics, in color, expression, and composition, one of the greatest works of the modern French school. Of all Delaroche's paintings, however, the one which impresses the beholder the most painfully, at the same time that it conveys to his mind the most exalted idea of the powers of the artist, is that representing Lady Jane Grey on the scaffold. There we see the victim, her eyes already bandaged, stretching out her hand to feel for the block. Sir Bruges, an

attached friend, is guiding her hand and whispering words of consolation in her ear. To the right stands the executioner, axe in hand; his appearance is respectful, but firm, and you feel that he will not shrink from his bloody duty; on the other side stand two women bathed in tears. These are the only figures on the canvas, — a mode of portraying such a scene which has found its admirers and its critics, but has at all events the merit of originality. There is another point in which this picture is singular. The eyes of all the figures are averted; for had they looked at the spectator, the effect of the principal figure, whose eyes, as we have stated, are covered with a handkerchief, would have been lost. M. Anatole Demidoff is the owner of this remarkable picture.

It would take too long to enumerate all Delaroche's works; but there is one more of which we must speak. Having been commissioned by government to execute some paintings for the church of the Madeleine in Paris, he determined to return to Italy, to study with fresh and undivided attention the religious paintings of the early Italian masters. No more striking instance of the modesty and good sense of Delaroche could be given than his willingness, celebrated as he then was, to recommence his studies, in order to fit himself for the new work before him. It was on his return that he executed his Saint Cecilia playing on an organ held before her by an angel. The calm and heavenly beauty of the saint, with the simplicity and grace of her drapery, renders this picture worthy of those masters whom the artist selected as his models, and suffices to refute the assertion, so often and so lightly made, that no French artist is capable of painting a good religious picture. A man of as much depth and earnestness of feeling as Delaroche might, in another age, have been a great painter of religious subjects. The time for such painting seems now to have gone by, perhaps because all that could be done in that branch of art has been already done, perhaps for some deeper and more philosophical reason. Where, indeed, shall we look for religious painters, in our day? Italy has none whose fame extends beyond the Alps; Spain has long since laid aside the pallet and the brush; and even in Germany, where the desire to revive mediæval art exists in such force, who is there save Overbeck who has been willing to devote himself to Chris-

tian art? The time has passed when the cloister concealed within its walls sculptors, painters, and musicians, and when, in its solitude, writers and orators were formed. The time has passed when the Christian, who retired within its sacred precincts, devoted to God, together with his soul and body, the talents with which he had been endowed. If it be true that the state of the arts depends in every country on the religious belief of its people, we cannot wonder that there should be little religious painting in France. Bossuet exerted all the energies of his powerful mind to emancipate his country from the thraldom in which the Papacy still holds southern Europe; and, by securing the liberties of the Gallican church, he placed an impassable barrier, as respects freedom of thought, between France and all other Catholic countries. The philosophers of the eighteenth century and the Revolution of 1789 swept away the long-cherished superstitions which degraded Christianity in the eyes of all enlightened men. The absolute faith in all the legends and miracles of the Church, by which religious painting was called into being and can alone exist, has died out and been succeeded by views often as bold as those of Protestantism. How can a Fra Angelico be found where the spirit which inspired Fra Angelico is not? The want of patronage is another reason why religious art can no longer flourish in France. No convents are built there; no churches erected by private individuals, for which paintings would be required. The two sovereigns who most liberally patronized art during the last half century, both employed their favorite artists, the one to commemorate the glories of his reign, the other to carry out the idea of Napoleon in the creation of the National Museum at Versailles. If, during the last reign, a deputy wishing to conciliate the inhabitants of some little town, his birthplace, or his constituency, succeeded in obtaining from government an altar-piece, the Minister of the Interior engaged some artist of inferior skill, for the most trifling sum, to copy a Murillo or a Da Vinci; for the milder and more refined beauties of Raphael's pencil would not tell so well. Such is the extent to which government favored religious art.

No greater contrast can be imagined than that between Delaroche and his father-in-law, Horace Vernet. The latter

is the most indefatigable painter extant. At Versailles, he has covered miles of canvas with historical paintings. Nor do we say this to disparage his talent; for, in his way, Vernet is an admirable artist. Coming immediately after the artists of the Empire, his success may be readily imagined. When they painted from antique casts, he painted from life, and the truth and nature of his pictures are beyond all praise. It was by two or three pictures representing scenes from the foreign invasion of 1815, that Vernet first became known; and now no painter in France is so popular. His paintings are eminently national. He possesses, in the highest degree, what Napoleon was wont to call *la fibre nationale*, an expression as untranslatable as it is forcible. In his pictures there is no attempt at idealization. He paints things as he sees them; and to this fidelity to nature he owes his reputation. Among his pictures at Versailles, the Battle of Fontenoy deservedly holds a high place; the grace of the groups to the right, where a young officer, a lad of sixteen, — for in those days, the nobles fought at that early age, — is throwing himself into his father's arms, as if rejoicing at their meeting after the perils to which both have been exposed, is very striking. In the long protracted warfare in Algeria during Louis Philippe's reign, Vernet found a fertile field in which to exercise his talents. He repeatedly visited that province, to make sketches for the pictures in which he has represented the victories of the French over the Arabs. The dry and glowing sky of Africa, the peculiar aspect of nature in that climate, the rich and picturesque costumes of the natives, their savage physiognomies, contrasting so strikingly with those of the French soldiery, lend to these pictures a charm quite their own. But it is not in scenes of war alone that Vernet's skill and facility of execution have been exercised. Numerous as are the battle-pieces in which the fiery French and their Arab foes have been depicted, he has found time to convey to the canvas calmer scenes of Eastern life. Biblical history has furnished him with several subjects; yet, cleverly handled as they are, they are far from equalling his battle-pieces. Here you feel the want of something more poetical and more lofty, and above all, of that reverence with which such subjects should always be approached. We remember once hearing Vernet say, that it was indifferent to him what

he painted, and that he could paint with equal facility a battle and a scene from the Bible. Clever and keen-sighted as he is, he was not aware that the very facility of which he boasted was the cause of his failure in treating sacred subjects. You may admire his pictures as faithful delineations of Eastern life; but they necessarily fail to call forth those emotions which religious paintings should inspire.

Vernet's best picture is, perhaps, the Massacre of the Mamelukes; it is at the Palace of the Luxembourg. Mehemet Ali, dressed in a rich Eastern costume, is sitting on a terrace in the foreground of the picture, whence, without being seen, he can look down into the court-yard, where the bloody massacre is taking place. The Mamelukes, who had been invited to attend one of the Pacha's sons, about starting on a pilgrimage to Mecca, are mounted on superb horses, which, as usual, Vernet has painted with the utmost spirit.

In the Louvre, there are two ceilings by Vernet, one of which represents Pope Julius II. giving Bramante, Raphael, and Michael Angelo orders for the Vatican and St. Peter's. Raphael is seen quietly at work on his celebrated Madonna della Sedia, while Michael Angelo stands watching him with hatred and envy depicted on his countenance, — a most ungracious subject, and one we are surprised Vernet should have selected. Even the beautiful peasant and her child, from whom Raphael is painting, cannot render this a pleasing picture.

In portrait painting, Vernet has always been successful; and it would seem, from the last accounts of the exhibition in Paris, that his talent is not yet on the wane. In person, Vernet is below the middle size, but slender, and active almost to restlessness; in character, he is vivacious, good-humored, and generous; his intelligence is quick and ready. No artist was ever a greater favorite with his brother artists.

Ary Scheffer, although born in Holland, belongs to the French school, both as a pupil of Guérin and from his long residence in France. His poetic feeling and expression, and his talent for composition, give him great superiority as an artist; but unfortunately his coloring is so defective that his pictures lose much of their real merit from this cause. When we look at his works, we cannot but feel that Scheffer possesses, to the highest degree, the power of idealization, and

that, could he carry out what he unquestionably has the power of conceiving, he would rank still higher among living artists than he now does.

"But the artist has two worlds to govern, the Real and the Ideal; he cannot destroy one by the other, nor resolve one into the other. He must let them both exist, and produce harmony from their apparent contradictions. This is the miracle he must ever seek to accomplish; by this he must attain glory. He aspires to the Infinite, but he must be content to confine himself within certain limits, and the first thing he learns is, that his strength can only be increased on condition of limiting itself. Thou shalt go no farther, was the first lesson of the Creator to his creature. If, filled with the necessity of circumscribing himself, the artist addresses himself exclusively to the Finite, he preserves but the form and the mask, and beneath them is vacancy. If, on the contrary, he abandons the Real for the Ideal, he errs in another way. Between these two extremes, therefore, are a crowd of shades which constitute the different degrees of the true, the false, the bad, and the worse." Quinet, *Genie des Religions.*

It is in leaning too much to the ideal that Scheffer errs; but the fault is a rare one, and for that reason we are more inclined to forgive it. His "Dead Christ," a picture well known in this country, is a fair example both of his merits and of his faults; however we may admire the design and expression of the group, we cannot but think the coloring cold and unnatural to the last degree.

Familiar with German literature, and a warm admirer of Goethe's genius, Scheffer has chosen subjects for the canvas from some of his works. "Margaret, when Faust first sees her," and "Margaret in prayer at church," are pictures distinguished for delicacy of sentiment and careful execution. In the companion-pieces, "Mignon regretting her country," and "Mignon aspiring to Heaven," the heads are ideal, and the conception fine, though the attitudes present too many angles to be perfectly graceful. These paintings are in the possession of M. Paturle, who, having amassed a large fortune as a silk manufacturer at Lyons, nobly devotes a large portion of it to the purchase of works of art, and whose gallery is open to all who wish to visit it. Many other of Scheffer's pictures are in the hands of private individuals; the Luxembourg possesses one of his earliest works, — the Suliote women throwing themselves from the rocks after the

defeat of their husbands by the Pasha of Janina, — painted when he was still under the influence of the school of David and Guérin. His portraits of Béranger, the poet, and of M. Coquerel, the great Protestant preacher, are much admired; but his *chef d'œuvre* is the Francesca da Rimini, executed for the late Duke of Orleans, and belonging to his private collection. A dark and stormy background, through which we dimly discern the forms of Dante and his guide, gives full relief to the figures of Paolo and Francesca, clad in white garments, to which the tempest sweeping by gives wonderful grace and lightness; her hand rests on his shoulder, and the faces of both breathe that unutterable woe described by the great Florentine. A grander, and at the same time more touching, conception of that scene can hardly be imagined.

From Scheffer we turn to another painter, whose untimely end caused such sincere regret among the friends of art, and among those who personally knew him. The son of a poor watchmaker, born in a small Swiss village at the foot of the Jura, Leopold Robert early evinced so decided a bent for art, that his father placed him under the care of an engraver of considerable merit. As he was remarkable for his gentle disposition, for his perseverance and attention to his work, the brother of this engraver, feeling a strong interest in him, took him to Paris, where he studied with David, until the restoration of the Bourbons drove that master into exile. Sad and discouraged, Robert returned to Switzerland, where he remained till 1818, when he accepted the offer of a French gentleman, M. Mezerac, to send him to Italy for three years. In Rome, he led a quiet and secluded life, economizing as much as possible, and studying incessantly. At the end of the three years, he was able to support himself by his pencil, but continued to live in Italy, making occasional visits to Paris, for early associations, and the numerous friends he had there, always led him to consider that city as his home. He at first attempted some *intérieurs;* but on showing one of them (a procession in a Roman church) to Grenet, that artist, who excelled in this branch of painting, said to him, with a frankness and freedom from all petty jealousy which does him honor, "Leave painting like this to those who cannot paint the human form." Robert took his advice, and having been particularly struck with the picturesque dress and

appearance of the Roman peasants, determined henceforth to make them his models. How admirably he succeeded, his works show. What painting ever transported you so wholly to Italy as the Harvesters; with their gay costumes, their mirth so joyous, yet so decorous, and their southern faces lighted up by the rich glow of an Italian sunset? What figure can rival in noble beauty, in sadness and poetry, that of the young man who stands in the centre of the picture, carelessly leaning on the shaft of the cart? And in that half-Christian, half-Pagan ceremony, the pilgrimage to the Madonna del Arco, which has given its name to the companion-piece of the Harvesters, does not that soft blue sky, those dark-eyed children laden with fruit and flowers, those bag-pipe players, in their pointed hats and brown jackets, and the inexpressible grace of those women, crowned like Bacchantes with vine-leaves and holding the thyrsus in their hands, seem the very idealization of Italian life? Robert and his friend Schnetz were the first artists who ever painted what so many before them had seen and admired; and, with a happy union of the real and the ideal, represented the joys and sorrows of the Italian peasant with unrivalled taste and skill.

Robert's noble and melancholy disposition shows itself in all his works. Even in scenes of festivity, some of the faces are not free from sadness; and it is perhaps this exquisite refinement of feeling which gives so peculiar a charm to his works. His Neapolitan mother, weeping over the ruins of her habitation, and the burial of the eldest of a family of Roman peasants, are full of sentiment and pathos. Notwithstanding his careful study, Robert did not paint with ease or rapidity; it was the capacity of investing with poetry, and almost with grandeur, the events of ordinary life, that placed him above so many other painters. His noblest work is *Les Pêcheurs*, now in the choice collection of M. Paturle; and it is rendered doubly interesting by the thought that it is the last he lived to finish. On that canvas he placed the forms with which his eye and his imagination had become familiar; on it he poured out the melancholy he had so long concealed within his own breast. Nothing can be more elevating than the impression it makes on the beholder; and yet the subject is so simple, that many an artist would have disdained that which will give him immortality.

Against a ruined wall, overhung with a vine, which the breath of winter seems already to have touched, sits an aged woman, her eyes fixed upon the ground. Near her stands a young mother, pressing an infant to her bosom; her countenance indicates the sorrow she feels at the approaching departure of the boats. In the centre of the picture is a young man hanging up a net; a more graceful and elegant figure cannot well be imagined. To his right is a child, holding a torch; and even his young face bears the impress of the sadness which reigns over the whole picture. It was after completing this painting, after having sent it to the exhibition at Paris, and while at work upon a repetition of the Harvesters for Count Raczynski, a noble patron of art, that the unhappy Robert committed suicide. Various reasons have been assigned for this act; but in one of so gentle and affectionate a nature, one so attached to his family and friends, and whose piety was so simple and earnest, it is difficult to believe that any external circumstances could have led to it. We should rather attribute it to that hereditary melancholy against which he had long quietly but vainly struggled, and which led his elder brother, ten years before, to commit suicide.

Robert's friend, Victor Schnetz, has painted some excellent pictures on subjects of a similar character. The gallery of the Luxembourg contains one of these; it represents a young peasant woman holding on her knee a beautiful boy, (afterwards Sixtus V.,) to whom an old fortune-teller, with brown and wrinkled face, is predicting that he will one day be Pope. A repetition of this picture is in Count Raczynski's gallery at Berlin. "The Consolation of the Afflicted," another of his pictures, is now in the church of St. Roch, Paris, where unfortunately it hangs in the worst possible light. Instead of the Virgin, or some Saint, being the subject of this picture, as is usually the case in paintings of this nature, Schnetz has represented the interior of a church, and a family of Roman peasants kneeling at the foot of the altar of the Madonna, imploring her in behalf of a sick child, who is sitting on the stone pavement near them. Nothing can be more expressive than this group. Schnetz's other works are dispersed; some are in the hands of private collectors, some are at Versailles.

Eugene Delacroix is a painter of great originality and powerful imagination; his coloring is vigorous and effective, but his works are seldom carefully finished. The gallery of the Luxembourg offers us an admirable specimen of his talent, in his "Dante and Virgil, conducted by Flegias, crossing the lake which surrounds the infernal city of Dite." (Inferno, Canto VIII.) It is a small picture, and executed with such apparent carelessness, that, at a short distance, all the outlines are lost in a confused mass of colors, as if the exuberance of the artist's imagination had not suffered him to elaborate what was so vividly and powerfully conceived.

Delacroix's Cleopatra is in a different style. The queen and a slave, with a tiger skin thrown over his shoulder, who is uncovering the basket of figs which contains the asp, are the only figures in the picture. But the regal beauty of Cleopatra, and the paleness which, despite her calmness and resolution, overspreads her face at the near approach of death, render it one not easily forgotten. Delacroix's most important work is at the Chamber of Peers, where he painted the cupola of the library; but not having seen this, we can say nothing of it.

Beside the artists we have already mentioned, there are in France several others, whose works deserve to be more widely known. Such are Cogniet, whose early paintings partook too much of the school of Girodet, his master, but who has acquired a lasting reputation by his exquisite picture of "Tintoretto painting his dead Daughter;" Winterhalter, who, in his "Decameron" has evinced so much talent for composition and such skill in painting rich and gorgeous stuffs like those on which the pencil of Vandyke loved to linger; Henry Scheffer, not unworthy of his brother; Decamps, whose "Defeat of the Cimbrians by Marius" is a wonderful picture; and others whom we cannot pause to enumerate. In *genre*-painting, France has long been considered unequalled; in fruit and flower pieces, in landscapes and sea-pieces, she has many distinguished artists; and in pastel-painting, she stands alone, for this style is not cultivated now either in Germany or Italy, and in England is almost unknown.

But, as we have before said, it has been our purpose to speak chiefly of the historical painters of France, and we

must therefore now close this sketch. Imperfect as it is, we still venture to hope it may awaken, in some of our readers, an interest which may lead to a better knowledge and a juster appreciation of the modern French school.

ART. VI. — *The Works of* JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. Author's Revised Edition. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo.

No American writer has been so extensively read as James Fenimore Cooper. His novels have been translated into nearly every European tongue. Nay, we are told — but hardly know how to believe it — that they may be had duly rendered into Persian at the bazaars of Ispahan. We have seen some of them, well thumbed and worn, at a little village in a remote mountainous district of Sicily; and in Naples and Milan, the bookstalls bear witness that "*L'Ultimo dei Mohecanni*" is still a popular work. In England, these American novels have been eagerly read and transformed into popular dramas; while cheap and often stupidly mutilated editions of them have been circulated through all her colonies, garrisons, and naval stations, from New Zealand to Canada.

Nor is this widely spread popularity undeserved. Of all American writers, Cooper is the most original, the most thoroughly national. His genius drew aliment from the soil where God had planted it, and rose to a vigorous growth, rough and gnarled, but strong as a mountain cedar. His volumes are a faithful mirror of that rude transatlantic nature, which to European eyes appears so strange and new. The sea and the forest have been the scenes of his countrymen's most conspicuous achievements; and it is on the sea and in the forest that Cooper is most at home. Their spirit inspired him, their images were graven on his heart; and the men whom their embrace has nurtured, the sailor, the hunter, the pioneer, move and act upon his pages with all the truth and energy of real life.

There is one great writer with whom Cooper has been often compared, and the comparison is not void of justice;

for though, on the whole, far inferior, there are certain high points of literary excellence in regard to which he may contest the palm with Sir Walter Scott. It is true, that he has no claim to share the humor and pathos, the fine perception of beauty and delicacy in character, which adds such charms to the romances of Scott. Nor can he boast that compass and variety of power, which could deal alike with forms of humanity so diverse; which could portray with equal mastery the Templar Bois Guilbert, and the Jewess Rebecca; the manly heart of Henry Morton, and the gentle heroism of Jeanie Deans. But notwithstanding this unquestioned inferiority on the part of Cooper, there were marked affinities between him and his great contemporary. Both were practical men, able and willing to grapple with the hard realities of the world. Either might have learned with ease to lead a regiment, or command a line-of-battle ship. Their conceptions of character were no mere abstract ideas, or unsubstantial images, but solid embodiments in living flesh and blood. Bulwer and Hawthorne — the conjunction may excite a smile — are writers of a different stamp. Their conceptions are often exhibited with consummate skill, and, in one of these examples at least, with admirable truthfulness; but they never cheat us into a belief of their reality. We may marvel at the skill of the artist, but we are prone to regard his creations rather as figments of art than as reproductions of nature, — as a series of vivified and animate pictures, rather than as breathing men and women. With Scott and with Cooper it is far otherwise. Dominie Sampson and the Antiquary are as distinct and familiar to our minds as some eccentric acquaintance of our childhood. If we met Long Tom Coffin on the wharf at New Bedford, we should wonder where we had before seen that familiar face and figure. The tall, gaunt form of Leatherstocking, the weather-beaten face, the bony hand, the cap of fox-skin, and the old hunting frock, polished with long service, seem so palpable and real, that, in some moods of mind, one may easily confound them with the memories of his own experiences. Others have been gifted to conceive the elements of far loftier character, and even to combine these elements in a manner equally truthful; but few have rivalled Cooper in the power of breathing into his creations the breath of life, and turning the phantoms of his

brain into seeming realities. It is to this, in no small measure, that he owes his widely spread popularity. His most successful portraitures are drawn, it is true, from humble walks and rude associations; yet they are instinct with life, and stamped with the impress of a masculine and original genius.

The descriptions of external nature with which Cooper's works abound bear a certain analogy to his portraitures of character. There is no glow upon his pictures, no warm and varied coloring, no studied contrast of light and shade. Their virtue consists in their fidelity, in the strength with which they impress themselves upon the mind, and the strange tenacity with which they cling to the memory. For our own part, it was many years since we had turned the pages of Cooper, but still we were haunted by the images which his spell had evoked; — the dark gleaming of hill-embosomed lakes, the tracery of forest boughs against the red evening sky, and the raven flapping his black wings above the carnage field near the Horican. These descriptions have often, it must be confessed, the grave fault of being overloaded with detail; but they are utterly mistaken who affirm, as some have done, that they are but a catalogue of commonplaces, — mountains and woods, rivers and torrents, thrown together as a matter of course. A genuine love of nature inspired the artist's pen; and they who cannot feel the efficacy of its strong picturing have neither heart nor mind for the grandeur of the outer world.

Before proceeding, however, we must observe that, in speaking of Cooper's writings, we have reference only to those happier offspring of his genius which form the basis of his reputation; for, of that numerous progeny which of late years have swarmed from his pen, we have never read one, and therefore, notwithstanding the ancient usage of reviewers, do not think ourselves entitled to comment upon them.

The style of Cooper is, as style must always be, in no small measure the exponent of the author's mind. It is not elastic or varied, and is certainly far from elegant. Its best characteristics are a manly directness, and a freedom from those prettinesses, studied turns of expression, and petty tricks of rhetoric, which are the pride of less masculine writers. Cooper is no favorite with *dilettanti* critics. In

truth, such criticism does not suit his case. He should be measured on deeper principles, not by his manner, but by his pith and substance. A rough diamond, and he is one of the roughest, is worth more than a jewel of paste, though its facets may not shine so clearly.

And yet, try Cooper by what test we may, we shall discover in him grave defects. The field of his success is, after all, a narrow one, and even in his best works he often oversteps its limits. His attempts at sentiment are notoriously unsuccessful. Above all, when he aspires to portray a heroine, no words can express the remarkable character of the product. With simple country girls he succeeds somewhat better; but when he essays a higher flight, his failure is calamitous. The most rabid asserter of the rights of woman is scarcely more ignorant of woman's true power and dignity. This is the more singular, as his novels are very far from being void of feeling. They seldom, however — and who can wonder at it? — find much favor with women, who for the most part can see little in them but ghastly stories of shipwrecks, ambuscades, and bush fights, mingled with prolix descriptions and stupid dialogues. Their most appreciating readers may perhaps be found, not among persons of sedentary and studious habits, but among those of a more active turn, military officers and the like, whose tastes have not been trained into fastidiousness, and who are often better qualified than literary men to feel the freshness and truth of the author's descriptions.

The merit of a novelist is usually measured less by his mere power of description than by his skill in delineating character. The permanency of Cooper's reputation must, as it seems to us, rest upon three or four finely conceived and admirably executed portraits. We do not allude to his Indian characters, which it must be granted, are for the most part either superficially or falsely drawn; while the long conversations which he puts into their mouths, are as truthless as they are tiresome. Such as they are, however, they have been eagerly copied by a legion of the smaller poets and novel writers; so that, jointly with Thomas Campbell, Cooper is responsible for the fathering of those aboriginal heroes, lovers, and sages, who have long formed a petty nuisance in our literature. The portraits of which we have

spoken are all those of white men, from humble ranks of society, yet not of a mean or vulgar stamp. Conspicuous before them all stands the well known figure of Leatherstocking. The life and character of this personage are contained in a series of five independent novels, entitled, in honor of him, The Leatherstocking Tales. Cooper has been censured, and even ridiculed, for this frequent reproduction of his favorite hero, which, it is affirmed, argues poverty of invention; and yet there is not one of the tales in question with which we would willingly part. To have drawn such a character is in itself sufficient honor; and had Cooper achieved nothing else, this alone must have insured him a wide and merited renown. There is something admirably felicitous in the conception of this hybrid offspring of civilization and barbarism, in whom uprightness, kindliness, innate philosophy, and the truest moral perceptions are joined with the wandering instincts and hatred of restraint which stamp the Indian or the Bedouin. Nor is the character in the least unnatural. The white denizens of the forest and the prairie are often among the worst, though never among the meanest, of mankind; but it is equally true, that where the moral instincts are originally strong, they may find nutriment and growth among the rude scenes and grand associations of the wilderness. Men as true, generous, and kindly as Leatherstocking may still be found among the perilous solitudes of the West. The quiet, unostentatious courage of Cooper's hero had its counterpart in the character of Daniel Boone; and the latter had the same unaffected love of nature which forms so pleasing a feature in the mind of Leatherstocking.

Civilization has a destroying as well as a creating power. It is exterminating the buffalo and the Indian, over whose fate too many lamentations, real or affected, have been sounded for us to renew them here. It must, moreover, eventually sweep from before it a class of men, its own precursors and pioneers, so remarkable both in their virtues and their faults, that few will see their extinction without regret. Of these men Leatherstocking is the representative; and though in him the traits of the individual are quite as prominent as those of the class, yet his character is not on this account less interesting, or less worthy of permanent remembrance. His life conveys in some sort an epitome of American history,

during one of its most busy and decisive periods. At first, we find him a lonely young hunter in what was then the wilderness of New York. Ten or twelve years later, he is playing his part manfully in the Old French War. After the close of the Revolution, we meet him again on the same spot where he was first introduced to us; but now every thing is changed. The solitary margin of the Otsego lake is transformed into the seat of a growing settlement, and the hunter, oppressed by the restraints of society, turns his aged footsteps westward in search of his congenial solitudes. At length, we discover him for the last time, an octogenarian trapper, far out on the prairies of the West. It is clear that the successive stages of his retreat from society could not well be presented in a single story, and that the repetition which has been charged against Cooper as a fault was indispensable to the development of his design.

The Deerslayer, the first novel in the series of the Leatherstocking Tales, seems to us one of the most interesting of Cooper's productions. He has chosen for the scene of his story the Otsego lake, on whose banks he lived and died, and whose scenery he has introduced into three, if not more, of his novels. The Deerslayer, or Leatherstocking, here makes his first appearance as a young man, in fact scarcely emerged from boyhood, yet with all the simplicity, candor, feeling, and penetration, which mark his riper years. The old buccaneer in his aquatic habitation, and the contrasted characters of his two daughters, add a human interest to the scene, for the want of which the highest skill in mere landscape painting cannot compensate. The character of Judith seems to us the best drawn, and by far the most interesting, female portrait in any of Cooper's novels with which we are acquainted. The story, however, is not free from the characteristic faults of its author. Above all, it contains, in one instance at least, a glaring exhibition of his aptitude for describing horrors. When he compels his marvellously graphic pen to depict scenes which would disgrace the shambles or the dissecting table, none can wonder that ladies and young clergymen regard his pages with abhorrence. These, however, are but casual defects in a work which bears the unmistakable impress of genius.

The Pathfinder forms the second volume of the series, and

is remarkable, even among its companions, for the force and distinctness of its pictures. For ourselves — though we diligently perused the despatches — the battle of Palo Alto and the storming of Monterey are not more real and present to our mind than some of the scenes and characters of The Pathfinder, though we have not read it for nine years; — the little fort on the margin of Lake Ontario, the surrounding woods and waters, the veteran major in command, the treacherous Scotchman, the dogmatic old sailor, and the Pathfinder himself. Several of these scenes are borrowed in part from Mrs. Grant's Memoirs of an American Lady; but in borrowing, Cooper has transmuted shadows into substance. Mrs. Grant's facts — for as such we are to take them — have an air of fiction; while Cooper's fiction wears the aspect of solid fact. His peculiar powers could not be better illustrated than by a comparison of the passages alluded to in the two books.

One of the most widely known of Cooper's novels is The Last of the Mohicans, which forms the third volume of the series, and which, with all the elements of a vulgar popularity, combines excellences of a far higher order. It has, nevertheless, its great and obtrusive faults. It takes needless liberties with history; and though it would be folly to demand that an historical novelist should always conform to received authorities, yet it is certainly desirable that he should not unnecessarily set them at defiance; since the incidents of the novel are apt to remain longer in the memory than those of the less palatable history. But whatever may be the extent of the novelist's license, it is, at all events, essential that his story should have some semblance of probability, and not run counter to nature and common sense. In The Last of the Mohicans, the machinery of the plot falls little short of absurdity. Why a veteran officer, pent up in a little fort, and hourly expecting to be beleaguered by a vastly superior force, consisting in great part of bloodthirsty savages, should at that particular time desire or permit a visit from his two daughters, is a question not easy to answer. Nor is the difficulty lessened when it is remembered, that the young ladies are to make the journey through a wilderness full of Indian scalping parties. It is equally difficult to see why the lover of Alice should choose, merely for the sake of a

romantic ride, to conduct her and her sister by a circuitous and most perilous by-path through the forests, when they might more easily have gone by a good road under the safe escort of a column of troops who marched for the fort that very morning. The story founded on these gross inventions is sustained by various minor improbabilities, which cannot escape the reader unless his attention is absorbed by the powerful interest of the narrative.

It seems to us a defect in a novel or a poem, when the heroine is compelled to undergo bodily hardship, to sleep out at night in the woods, drenched by rain, stung by mosquitos and scratched by briars, — to forego all appliances of the toilet, and above all, to lodge in an Indian wigwam. Women have sometimes endured such privation, and endured it with fortitude; but it may be safely affirmed, that for the time, all grace and romance were banished from their presence. We read Longfellow's Evangeline with much sympathy in the fortunes of the errant heroine, until, as we approached the end of the poem, every other sentiment was lost in admiration at the unparalleled extent of her wanderings, at the dexterity with which she contrived to elude at least a dozen tribes of savages at that time in a state of war, at the strength of her constitution, and at her marvellous proficiency in woodcraft. When, however, we had followed her for about two thousand miles on her forest pilgrimage, and reflected on the figure she must have made, so tattered and bepatched, bedrenched and bedraggled, we could not but esteem it a happy circumstance that she failed, as she did, to meet her lover; since, had he seen her in such plight, every spark of sentiment must have vanished from his breast, and all the romance of the poem have been ingloriously extinguished. With Cooper's heroines, Cora and Alice, the case is not so hard. Yet, as it does not appear that, on a journey of several weeks, they were permitted to carry so much as a valise or a carpet bag, and as we are expressly told, that on several occasions, they dropped by the wayside their gloves, veils, and other useful articles of apparel, it is certain, that at the journey's end, they must have presented an appearance more adapted to call forth a Christian sympathy than any emotion of a more romantic nature.

In respect to the delineation of character, The Last of the Mohicans is surpassed by several other works of the author.

Its distinguishing merit lies in its descriptions of scenery and action. Of the personages who figure in it, one of the most interesting is the young Mohican, Uncas, who, however, does not at all resemble a genuine Indian. Magua, the villain of the story, is a less untruthful portrait. Cooper has been criticized for having represented him as falling in love with Cora; and the criticism is based on the alleged ground that passions of this kind are not characteristic of the Indian. This may, in some qualified sense, be true; but it is well known that Indians, in real life as well as in novels, display a peculiar partiality for white women, on the same principle by which Italians are prone to admire a light complexion, while Swedes regard a brunette with highest esteem. Cora was the very person to fascinate an Indian. The coldest warrior would gladly have received her into his lodge, and promoted her to be his favorite wife, wholly dispensing, in honor of her charms, with flagellation or any of the severer marks of conjugal displeasure.

The character of Hawkeye or Leatherstocking is, in the Mohicans as elsewhere, clearly and admirably drawn. He often displays, however, a weakness which excites the impatience of the reader, — an excessive and ill-timed loquacity. When, for example, in the fight at Glenn's Falls, he and Major Heywood are crouching in the thicket, watching the motions of four Indians, whose heads are visible above a log at a little distance, and who, in the expression of Hawkeye himself, are gathering for a rush, the scout employs the time in dilating upon the properties of the "long-barrelled, soft-metalled rifle." The design is, no doubt, to convey an impression of his coolness in moments of extreme danger; but under such circumstances, the bravest man would judge it the part of good sense to use his eyes rather than his tongue. Men of Hawkeye's class, however talkative they may be at the camp-fire, are remarkable for preserving a close silence while engaged in the active labors of their calling.

It is easy to find fault with The Last of the Mohicans; but it is far from easy to rival or even approach its excellences. The book has the genuine game flavor; it exhales the odors of the pine woods and the freshness of the mountain wind. Its dark and rugged scenery rises as distinctly on the eye as the images of the painter's canvas, or rather as the reflection

of nature herself. But it is not as the mere rendering of material forms, that these wood paintings are most highly to be esteemed. They are instinct with life, with the very spirit of the wilderness; they breathe the sombre poetry of solitude and danger. In these achievements of his art, Cooper, we think, has no equal, unless it may be the author of that striking romance, Wacousta or the Prophecy, whose fine powers of imagination are, however, even less under the guidance of a just taste than those of the American novelist.

The most obvious merit of The Last of the Mohicans consists in its descriptions of action, in the power with which the author absorbs the reader's sympathies, and leads him, as it were, to play a part in the scene. One reads the accounts of a great battle — aside from any cause or principle at issue — with the same kind of interest with which he beholds the grand destructive phenomena of nature, a tempest at sea, or a tornado in the tropics; yet with a feeling far more intense, since the conflict is not a mere striving of insensate elements, but of living tides of human wrath and valor. With descriptions of petty skirmishes or single combats, the feeling is of a different kind. The reader is enlisted in the fray, a partaker, as it were, in every thought and movement of the combatants, in the alternations of fear and triumph, the prompt expedient, the desperate resort, the palpitations of human weakness, or the courage that faces death. Of this species of description, the scene of the conflict at Glenn's Falls is an admirable example, unsurpassed, we think, even by the combat of Balfour and Bothwell, or by any other passage of the kind in the novels of Scott. The scenery of the fight, the foaming cataract, the little islet with its stout-hearted defenders, the precipices and the dark pine woods, add greatly to the effect. The scene is conjured before the reader's eye, not as a vision or a picture, but like the tangible presence of rock, river, and forest. His very senses seem conspiring to deceive him. He seems to feel against his cheek the wind and spray of the cataract, and hear its sullen roar, amid the yells of the assailants and the sharp crack of the answering rifle. The scene of the strife is pointed out to travellers as if this fictitious combat were a real event of history. Mills, factories, and bridges have marred the native wildness of the spot, and a village has usurped the domain of the forest; yet

still those foaming waters and black sheets of limestone rock are clothed with all the interest of an historic memory; and the cicerone of the place can show the caves where the affrighted sisters took refuge, the point where the Indians landed, and the rock whence the despairing Huron was flung into the abyss. Nay, if the lapse of a few years has not enlightened his understanding, the guide would as soon doubt the reality of the battle of Saratoga, as that of Hawkeye's fight with the Mingoes.

The Pioneers, the fourth volume of the series, is, in several respects, the best of Cooper's works. Unlike some of its companions, it bears every mark of having been written from the results of personal experience; and indeed, Cooper is well known to have drawn largely on the recollections of his earlier years in the composition of this novel. The characters are full of vitality and truth, though, in one or two instances, the excellence of delineation is impaired by a certain taint of vulgarity. Leatherstocking, as he appears in The Pioneers, must certainly have had his living original in some gaunt, gray-haired old woodsman, to whose stories of hunts and Indian fights the author may perhaps have listened in his boyhood with rapt ears, unconsciously garnering up in memory the germs which time was to develop into a rich harvest. The scenes of the Christmas turkey-shooting, the fish-spearing by firelight on Otsego lake, the rescue from the panther, and the burning of the woods, are all inimitable in their way. Of all Cooper's works, The Pioneers seems to us most likely to hold a permanent place in literature, for it preserves a vivid reflection of scenes and characters which will soon have passed away.

The Prairie, the last of the Leatherstocking Tales, is a novel of far inferior merit. The story is very improbable, and not very interesting. The pictures of scenery are less true to nature than in the previous volumes, and seem to indicate that Cooper had little or no personal acquaintance with the remoter parts of the West. The book, however, has several passages of much interest, one of the best of which is the scene in which the aged trapper discovers, in the person of a young officer, the grandson of Duncan Heywood and Alice Munro, whom, half a century before, he had protected when in such imminent jeopardy on the rocks of Glenn's

Falls and among the mountains of Lake George. The death of Abiram White is very striking, though reminding the reader too much of a similar scene in the Spy. The grand deformity of the story is the wretched attempt at humor in the person of Dr. Obed Battius. David Gamut, in The Mohicans, is bad enough; but Battius outherods Herod, and great must be the merit of the book which one such incubus would not sink beyond redemption.

The novel, which first brought the name of Cooper into distinguished notice, was The Spy; and this book, which gave him his earliest reputation, will contribute largely to preserve it. The story is full of interest, and the character of Harvey Birch is drawn with singular skill.

The Pilot is usually considered the best of Cooper's sea tales. It is in truth a masterpiece of his genius; and although the reader is apt to pass with impatience over the long conversations among the ladies at St. Ruth's, and between Alice Dunscombe and the disguised Paul Jones, yet he is amply repaid when he follows the author to his congenial element. The description of the wreck of the Ariel, and the death of Long Tom Coffin, can scarcely be spoken of in terms of too much admiration. Long Tom is to Cooper's sea tales what Leatherstocking is to the novels of the forest, — a conception so original and forcible, that posterity will hardly suffer it to escape from remembrance. The Red Rover, The Water-Witch, and the remainder of the sea tales, are marked with the same excellences and defects with the novels already mentioned, and further comments would therefore be useless.

The recent death of the man who had achieved so much in the cause of American literature has called forth, as it should have done, a general expression of regret; and the outcries, not unprovoked, which of late have been raised against him, are drowned in the voice of sorrow. The most marked and original of American writers has passed from among us. It was an auspicious moment when his earlier works first saw the light; for there was promise in their rude vigor, — a good hope that from such rough beginnings the country might develop a literary progeny which, taking lessons in the graces, and refining with the lapse of years, might one day do honor to its parentage; and when the chastened genius of Bryant arose, it seemed that the fulfilment of such

a hope was not far remote. But this fair promise has failed, and to this hour the purpose, the energy, the passion of America have never found their adequate expression on the printed page. The number of good writers truly American, by which we mean all those who are not imitators of foreign modes, might be counted on the fingers of the two hands; nor are the writers of this small class, not excepting even Bryant himself, in any eminent degree the favorites of those among their countrymen who make pretensions to taste and refinement. As in life and manners the American people seem bent on aping the polished luxury of another hemisphere, so likewise they reserve their enthusiasm and their purses for the honeyed verse and the sugared prose of an emasculate and supposititious literature.

Some French writer, — Chateaubriand, we believe, — observes that the only portion of the American people who exhibit any distinctive national character are the backwoodsmen of the West. The remark is not strictly true. The whole merchant marine, from captains to cabin-boys, the lumbermen of Maine, the farmers of New England, and indeed all the laboring population of the country, not of foreign origin, are marked with strong and peculiar traits. But when we ascend into the educated and polished classes, these peculiarities are smoothed away, until, in many cases, they are invisible. An educated Englishman is an Englishman still; an educated Frenchman is often intensely French; but an educated American is apt to have no national character at all. The condition of the literature of the country is, as might be expected, in close accordance with these peculiarities of its society. With but few exceptions, the only books which reflect the national mind are those which emanate from, or are adapted to, the unschooled classes of the people; such, for example, as Dr. Bird's Nick of the Woods, The Life of David Crockett, The Big Bear of Arkansas, with its kindred legends, and, we may add, the earlier novels of Cooper. In the politer walks of literature, we find much grace of style, but very little originality of thought, — productions which might as readily be taken for the work of an Englishman as of an American.

This lack of originality has been loudly complained of, but it seems to us inevitable under the circumstances. The

healthful growth of the intellect, whether national or individual, like healthful growth of every other kind, must proceed from the action of internal energies, and not from foreign aid. Too much assistance, too many stimulants, weaken instead of increasing it. The cravings of the American mind, eager as they are, are amply supplied by the copious stream of English current literature. Thousands, nay, millions of readers and writers drink from this bounteous source, and feed on this foreign aliment, till the whole complexion of their thoughts is tinged with it, and by a sort of necessity they think and write at second hand. If this transatlantic supply were completely cut off, and the nation abandoned to its own resources, it would eventually promote, in a high degree, the development of the national intellect. The vitality and force, which are abundantly displayed in every department of active life, would soon find their way into a higher channel, to meet the new and clamorous necessity for mental food; and in the space of a generation, the oft-repeated demand for an original literature would be fully satisfied.

In respect to every department of active life, the United States are fully emancipated from their ancient colonial subjection. They can plan, invent, and achieve for themselves, and this, too, with a commanding success. But in all the finer functions of thought, in all matters of literature and taste, we are still essentially provincial. England once held us in a state of political dependency. That day is past; but she still holds us in an intellectual dependency far more complete. Her thoughts become our thoughts, by a process unconscious, but inevitable. She caters for our mind and fancy with a liberal hand. We are spared the labor of self-support; but by the universal law, applicable to nations no less than individuals, we are weakened by the want of independent exercise. It is a matter of common remark, that the most highly educated classes among us are far from being the most efficient either in thought or action. The vigorous life of the nation springs from the deep rich soil at the bottom of society. Its men of greatest influence are those who have studied men before they studied books, and who, by hard battling with the world, and boldly following out the bent of their native genius, have hewn their own way to wealth, station, or knowledge, from the ploughshare or the forecastle. The

comparative shortcomings of the best educated among us may be traced to several causes; but, as we are constrained to think, they are mainly owing to the fact that the highest civilization of America is communicated from without instead of being developed from within, and is therefore nerveless and unproductive.

ART. VII. — *Annals of the Town of Warren, with the Early History of St. George's, Broad Bay, and the Neighboring Settlements on the Waldo Patent.* By CYRUS EATON, A. M. Hallowell: Masters, Smith, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 437.

THE town of Warren was incorporated in 1776. Its present historian, Mr. Eaton, does not state what we believe to be a fact, that it was the first settlement in Maine to which the Whigs of Massachusetts gave a corporate existence after throwing off their allegiance to the British crown. The question of forming into towns the territory east of Gorges's eastern boundary was one upon which the royal governors and the popular branch of the legislature seldom agreed for successive administrations; and one which remained undetermined at the commencement of the graver controversies of the Revolution. *This* instance, then, of the exercise of newly acquired sovereignty is entitled to remembrance; the more especially, since the act was, in some degree at least, political, the name of Warren being avowedly selected to do honor to the memory of the distinguished martyr of the 17th of June of the previous year.

The history of the *Muscongus*, as the Waldo Patent was originally called, is quite as peculiar as this incident in the annals of its oldest town, and is connected very intimately with the personal and political fortunes of several eminent persons. The country embraced in this Patent was not within the ancient limits either of Maine or of New England, but once formed a part of New France. Until the treaty of Ryswick, the entire territory, from the Kennebeck to the St. Croix, was in dispute between the two great powers, who,

for nearly a century and a half, struggled for the mastery of this hemisphere; nor did France finally relinquish her claims to it until the treaty of Utrecht.

The Muscongus Patent bears date as early as 1629. The original parchment is said to be still extant, and in the possession of the family of the late General Knox. The patentees were John Beauchamp, of London, and Thomas Leverett, of Boston in England; and their domain was vaguely described to be on the river Penobscot, having the Muscongus on the southwest, extending ten leagues northeast of the Penobscot, and ten leagues into the country. As defined more than a hundred years subsequently, and after much legislation and many angry contentions, the assignees of the patentees were confirmed in a quiet title to about one million of acres.

Immediate possession was taken by Beauchamp and Leverett, who sent over agents in the *Lyon*, a well known passenger ship of the Puritan times. But Charles the Second, soon after his restoration, created a province or government in Maine for his brother, the Duke of York, which was known until our Revolution by the name of *Sagadahock*, and which included the whole of the Muscongus. Whatever was the breach of faith of that monarch, in thus granting an immense tract of land not belonging even nominally to the crown, little harm was really done to the patentees; for when the Duke, as James the Second, abdicated the English throne, they were re-invested with all their former rights. But these rights were not of marketable value. It is not probable that Beauchamp ever received back a moiety of his actual expenditure. Whether he came to America, and had a personal care of his property, is uncertain. But Leverett arrived within three years after Winthrop, and *may* have been more fortunate than his associate. He became a man of some note himself; and, as the father of a worthy Governor of Massachusetts, and the ancestor of a very learned and accomplished President of Harvard University, he deserves an honorable mention in our annals.

At the decease of Leverett, the Muscongus seems to have passed entire to his son, the Governor just referred to, who, the better to effect settlements, divided the Patent into a sort of joint-stock company, of ten shares. The ten proprietors subsequently alienated two thirds of their property to twenty

associates; and under their direction, block-houses and other defences were built for the protection of those whom they might induce to become settlers. Almost a century had now elapsed since the Patent had been issued; but the country on every hand was an unbroken wilderness. Between Georgetown on the Kennebec, and Annapolis in Nova Scotia, there was not so much as one inhabited dwelling, and but a single fish-house.

Still the thirty proprietors were untiring in their exertions to people the Patent. Finally, as the result of years of labor, they engaged upwards of one hundred families to remove there; when Dunbar, a proud, wicked, and beggarly Colonel in the British army, who had procured the office of surveyor-general of the King's woods in Maine, revived, — by royal authority, as he said, — the dormant Patent of Sagadahock, or Duke of York's province, and forbade them to execute the enterprise. His designs tended to disturb the title not only to the Muscongus, but to several other Patents; and to defeat his plans, petitioners thronged the legislative halls of Massachusetts. The papers which were presented by alarmed patentees, and by claimants under them, and the reports which, in the course of the controversy, were prepared by the committees of the General Court, were transmitted to England, to be there laid before the Board of Trade. Meantime, the hated Dunbar suffered every indignity from those whom he oppressed; and his removal was earnestly solicited by petitions on the part of the considerate, and by demand of a military force to arrest him, on the part of others.

In the exigency, Samuel Waldo, of Falmouth, now Portland, who had acquired a large interest in the Muscongus, went to England, to counteract the rapacity of Dunbar. He was successful. A royal order was issued, which revoked the surveyor's authority; and honest men were again allowed to pursue their avocations in peace. In parting with Dunbar, we may add, that the land quarrels, to which he gave rise, occupied the attention of the legislature of Massachusetts long after the Revolution, and were not, indeed, brought to a close till the year 1811, and then, only by the adoption of measures which are to be justified only by the necessities of the case.

The immediate troubles about the title being at an end,

Waldo became desirous of managing the Muscongus according to his own judgment; and having procured a division, so as to hold his interest in severalty, the Patent thenceforth took his name. He was a man who left his mark wherever he went; and under his supervision, the whole aspect of affairs was at once changed. Though his schemes, his lifelong, were interrupted by Indian wars and difficulties with the patentees of adjacent lands, he accomplished, we think, more than any individual projector of his time, who relied solely on private resources and personal influence and exertion. In his day, a voyage to Europe by an American colonist was a momentous undertaking; but he crossed the Atlantic, it is said, no less than fifteen times. By extensive advertisements of the liberality of his terms, and especially by the excitement created through the representations of one of his sons, who went to Europe for the express purpose of procuring settlers, he soon attracted public attention to his domain; and, in a brief period, emigrants who had already arrived in America, and others who came directly from Scotland and Germany, founded several towns, which have long been among the most flourishing and commercial in Maine.

Waldo died in 1759. Governor Pownall, contemplating a fortification on the Penobscot, and accompanied by Waldo, with a sufficient party, ascended that river to the head of its tide waters, and proceeded, as was supposed, to the northerly line of the Patent. There, Waldo exclaimed, while surveying the ground, "Here is my bound," and dropped dead, on the site of the present city of Bangor. He was sixty-three years of age; and the Governor, to commemorate the event, buried a leaden plate, bearing an appropriate inscription.

Waldo may be denominated a colonial nobleman. His military character is entitled to great commendation. He and Pepperell command the only regiments in Maine; and when the memorable expedition against Louisbourg was projected, they were selected as the chief officers. Waldo was created a brigadier-general, and made second in rank; and he was successful in enlisting the settlers on the Patent. In the same war, a force of fifteen hundred men was placed under his command, to operate against Crown Point;

but the smallpox and other obstacles kept his brigade at home.

The Patent now descended to his children, Samuel, Francis, and Ralph, and a daughter, who married Thomas Fluker, Secretary of Massachusetts. Samuel, according to the laws of descent of the time, inherited a double share; but he sold his interest to Fluker, who also acquired other rights, and became a very large proprietor. At the Revolution, the heirs, including Fluker, being Loyalists, the whole domain, except an inconsiderable part already sold to settlers, was confiscated, and passed to the Commonwealth.

But it soon became private property again, as one estate; General Henry Knox, Chief of Artillery in the army of the Revolution, having married the daughter of Fluker, was able to obtain this vast possession on easy terms. On retiring from the cabinet of Washington, towards the close of the last century, General Knox became a permanent resident on the Patent; and erecting a mansion, then unequalled in Maine for size and elegance, he lived in a style of princely hospitality, entertaining his old companions in arms, both native and foreign.

During the General's life, the Patent was one of the busiest, and seemingly one of the most flourishing, tracts of country in all New England. He engaged in almost every imaginable enterprise on the land and the sea; and employed large bodies of men to carry out and execute his plans. His expenditures were immense, and even ruinous. Though he disposed of several townships to parties in Massachusetts, who became infected with the mania for speculations that followed the Revolution, and who invested in eastern lands, and a large number of lots were sold to individual settlers, a great estate remained at his decease. But as it was encumbered with mortgages to the late Samuel Parkman, Esq., of Boston, and with other claims, his heirs — a son and two daughters — derived but little benefit from it.

Such are the outlines of the proprietary history of the Waldo Patent down to the early part of the present century. Warren, as we have seen, is the oldest town within its limits; and it is worthy of remark here, that no less than ten other towns, subsequently incorporated, commemorate the names either of English Whigs, or American "Rebels" of distinc-

tion, — a circumstance, probably, without example in the same extent of country in the United States,* and of some significance, when we remember that its owners were proscribed and banished as Tories.

We pass to the Annals of Warren. This town is situated on both sides of the St. George's river, and contains nearly 30,000 acres. It is now the eighth town in population, and the sixth in property, in the county of Lincoln. The manufacture of lime and the building of vessels are among its principal branches of industry. The first houses erected there were built of logs; generally they had cellar holes, or unwalled cellars, under them. Few contained more than one room, and all had fireplaces of stone, with a chimney built of strips of wood laid up cobhouse fashion, the interstices being filled with clay-mortar. The first legal highway was laid out in 1784. When the assessors apportioned the first tax, they required the wealthiest settlers to pay a pistareen each. For many years, the town meetings were held at the dwelling-house of the town clerk. Until 1793, no mail was carried east of Wiscasset, at which place, letters and newspapers were received from Portland twice in a month. No public school was opened prior to the Revolution; but a public library was founded in 1792, and so rapid was the growth of the town, and so desirous were the people to provide for the education of their children, that they procured an act for the incorporation of an academy as early as the year 1808.

In the day of log houses, of suffering and destitution, and indeed to a period somewhat later, the religious teachers of Warren were a strange set. One was "a priest, prince, and military commander." A second left his wife in Germany, seduced the wife of another man, a woman of great beauty, and brought her and his own daughter to America, where he was both clergyman and quack doctor. The third was a still greater rascal than the second. This wolf in sheep's clothing, like his predecessor, abandoned a wife in Europe, and, after circulating a story of her decease, married a second time. His first spouse followed him, accompanied by her

* Hampden, of ship-money memory, and Lord Camden. Generals Warren, Lincoln, Thomas, and Knox, Lieutenant-Governor Cushing, and Colonel John Brooks, of Massachusetts; General James Jackson, of Georgia; James Monroe, of Virginia; and the illustrious Washington.

daughter, and for a while was under the protection of the celebrated Witherspoon, President of Princeton College. The wronged woman finally found her faithless husband at his own home, and her first interview with him occurred in presence of her successor. He was confounded. "Dinna ye cry, Johnny," said she, "it's yer ain loving wife ye've been mourning for sae long." The parties attempted to excuse themselves by saying that they supposed she was dead. "Yes," she tauntingly answered, "you hoped I was, at the very time you were pasting my letters into your bairns' bonnets."

The people of Warren were good Whigs in the Revolution. They furnished one of the "Indians" who threw over the tea in Boston, in 1773; and in every part of the subsequent contest, supplied their full share of troops for the continental service. There were Tories among them, but only two actually abandoned their homes to join the royal forces. Mr. Eaton gives some amusing extracts from the town records, which illustrate both the scholarship and the vigilance of the ruling powers.

We take leave of the Annals of Warren, commending it to our readers as one of the best town histories we have ever examined. Mr. Eaton says, in his Preface, that "the form of annals was chosen as best calculated to give a panoramic picture of the succession and contemporaneous steps by which the settlements advanced, and affairs moved on, towards their present condition;" but we are not quite sure that the division of a historical work into subjects and chapters is not preferable to the fragmentary and broken narrative unavoidable in the observance of strict chronological order. Our sympathy for the condition of the author would exempt his work from severe criticism, were there serious defects to palliate; but he needs no indulgence. He has performed his task faithfully and well. The main text occupies three hundred and fifty pages. A genealogical table, of upwards of sixty pages, with tables of highways, town valuations at different periods, lists of the principal town officers, magistrates, &c., complete the volume. To the people for whom it was specially written, it cannot fail to be an acceptable work.

The circumstances under which this volume was prepared for the press deserve notice. Mr. Eaton is a native of Fra-

mingham, Massachusetts, and has now nearly attained his three score years and ten. Self-taught, he qualified himself to teach, and was preceptor of the Warren Academy for thirteen years, retiring in 1843. The Annals are the fruit of six years of labor; and during the whole period, the author has been blind, and dependent upon an invalid daughter, whose modesty has forbid any allusion to her services. The father dictated, the daughter, — confined almost literally to her chair by a painful disease which deprives her of the free use of her hands, — was his amanuensis. The kind services, in the way of counsel and encouragement, of the Assistant Librarian of Harvard University, and of other friends, are acknowledged in proper terms by Mr. Eaton. But the aid which he could receive from those whose sympathies had been awakened in his behalf was necessarily small; and the fact that the invalids toiled through six long years upon this humble but useful task, still remains to command our admiration. A friend, speaking of Mr. Eaton, says, "He is always cheerful; I have never heard him complain about becoming blind; he *has* spoken of his want of sight as an inconvenience."

Art. VIII. — 1. *Newfoundland in* 1842. By Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle. London. 1842.

2. *The Progress of America, from the Discovery by Columbus to the year* 1846. By John Macgregor. London. 1847. 2 vols.

3. *New Brunswick; with notes for Emigrants.* By Abraham Gesner. London. 1847.

4. *Some Particulars of the Commercial Progress of the Colonial Dependencies of the United Kingdom during the twenty years,* 1827 – 1846. By J. Z. Dawson. London. 1849.

5. *Canada; its Financial Position and Resources.* By the Hon. Francis Hincks, M. P. P., Member of the Executive Council, and Inspector-General of the Province. London. 1849.

6. *Report on the Natural Capabilities of the Province of New Brunswick.* By J. F. W. Johnston, F. R. S. L. and E. Fredericton. 1850.
7. *Free Navigation of the St. Lawrence;* a Report made in the House of Representatives, May 2, 1850, by Hon. A. W. Buel.
8. *Report on the Fisheries of the Bay of Fundy.* By M. H. Perley, Her Majesty's Emigration Officer at St. John, New Brunswick. Fredericton. 1851.
9. *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Trade and Commerce of the British North American Colonies since* 1829. Feb. 6, 1851. Prepared by J. D. Andrews, United States Consul at St. John, New Brunswick.

We cannot agree with a recent ingenious writer in denying to Political Economy the name of a science. Yet it needs to be rigidly guarded against some of the errors involved in the popular use of that name. Exactness and universality of application are commonly understood to belong to scientific principles, in contradistinction to the results of a partial observation or a limited experience. What is scientifically true is supposed to be true always and everywhere. But in strict fact, there are no exact sciences. Even mathematical formulæ are literally true only in the abstract, and on paper. In their practical applications, they are subject to perpetual abatements and modifications, on account of the variable qualities of the materials to which they are applied. The pulley raises less weight in practice than in theory, and different pulleys of the same theoretical power raise different weights; for the formula of the pulley excludes the elements of varying friction and flexibility of ropes. The mere mathematician, therefore, cannot be a successful mechanic. In order to construct machines that will do their work, he must have a competent amount of that experimental knowledge and judgment, which cannot be written out or reduced to exact expressions.

In the moral and social sciences, there is the same distinction between theoretical and practical truth. Circumstances modify principles. The form of government, on which society ought to be organized if its elements were

unformed and plastic, would create injustice, misrule, and misery in any actually existing community. Inveterate wrong acquires a certain measure of prescriptive right, — at least, the right of gradual extinction in lieu of violent abrogation. An abnormal past reappears as a factor in every formula for the present. Universal propositions embrace not men, but man, — the individual or the race considered as without history, environments, or idiosyncracies. Hence the maxims of practical wisdom vary widely in terms from the principles of abstract science, though identical with them in the last analysis. Therefore is it that the mere philosopher never succeeds in legislative or administrative details. Yet his theories are of essential service in the affairs of society and government, as points of departure, standards of verification, limits to be approached as the body politic approaches its normal condition.

The fallacy of the ultra free trade doctrines consists not in the doctrines themselves, but in existing circumstances which essentially modify and limit them. Were capital equally diffused among the nations, were industry everywhere equally well compensated, and were the expenses of governments so reduced that they could be supplied by direct taxation, (as can be the case only when, by the establishment of universal peace, the naval and military departments shall be superseded,) it would be safe and practicable, judicious and politic, that the ports of all nations should be open without restriction to mutual commerce. But so long as armies and navies are to be sustained, port duties are the only form in which the necessary public revenues can be collected, without being oppressively felt, and keeping the citizens in the very attitude of rebellion. So long as manufacturers in any one country are in the condition of paupers, the free introduction of their commodities into the ports of any other nation must reduce manufacturers of the same class in that nation to the same level of penury. So long as, in one country, low rates of interest conspire with a glut of the labor market to stimulate production, the unrestricted inflow of its commodities must paralyze the industry of another country, where smaller accumulations of capital and a less ample supply of industrial operatives enhance the cost of production. There are but three cases in which the free trade principle, sound as it is in theory,

is safe in practice. The first is, with reference to commodities which enter into general consumption in countries where it is impossible that they should be produced without a disproportionate expenditure of capital and industry. For instance, tea, coffee, and spices have become necessaries of life throughout the civilized world; and charges on their importation only enhance the cost of subsistence, and either increase the wages of labor, or straiten the resources of the laboring classes, without any countervailing benefit. The second case is that of commodities, which, from the very nature of the case, must be produced by different communities at nearly the same cost. Under this head we might class breadstuffs, and such agricultural products as demand an extended surface of soil; for the advantage of cheap land and new soils is balanced by the scarcity of labor and the cost of transportation, while the very state of things which renders agricultural labor abundant and transportation unexpensive, enhances in the same proportion the cost of land and the remuneration of the capitalist. The third case is, that of nations similarly circumstanced as to the supply of capital and labor. Were there two countries occupying this relative position, protection against each other need have no place in their revenue laws, and the duties exacted of each other might be adjusted with sole reference to the needs of government.

Yet even in this last case, it is conceivable that free trade might lead to injurious and wasteful results. To designate two nations occupying this mutual position by the letters A and B, A may now produce or manufacture commodities, which B *might* produce or manufacture at the same cost, and *vice versâ*. But priority of habit has confined the industry of A within a certain range, and that of B within a different range. The *vis inertiæ* operates upon the enterprise of each of the two nations. Each is contented with a prompt and constant supply of the commodities produced exclusively by the other. A thousand leagues of ocean lie between A and B. Several thousand seamen and a large amount of maritime capital are constantly occupied in interchanging their commodities. Did each produce or manufacture the commodities which it now derives from the other, their passage from the producer to the consumer would demand but one tenth of the industry and

capital now employed. Nine tenths of that industry are then wasted, and nine tenths of that capital are unproductively employed. Let A produce the commodities which B supplies, and *vice versâ*, and those commodities will be supplied to each nation in greater abundance and at less cost; and by the concentration upon productive industry of the labor and capital now withdrawn from it, (for needless transportation is the same as if so much labor was paralyzed and so much money thrown into the ocean,) the wealth of each nation is proportionally enhanced. Therefore, free trade between any two nations demands one of two conditions. They should, either, in the first place, be similarly circumstanced, not only as to the capacity, but as to the actual state of productive industry; or, in the second place, they should lie in such proximity to each other that the mutual interchange of commodities should involve no waste of labor and capital.

This last condition suggests the inquiry, whether there are not cases, in which commercial intercourse should be adjusted independently of political divisions. Many of the European states are geographically units, with strongly marked boundaries of mountain, sea, or river, and with distinguishing peculiarities of climate, soil, industrial habits, and social economy. Thus, England, France, and Spain are as unlike in all the elements of national character, internal organization, and material prosperity, as if they were in different zones or hemispheres. Other independent states are united in groups by a community of character, habits, productions, and mercantile relations with the rest of the world. This is manifestly the case with the kingdoms and principalities of Italy, and with most of the members of the Germanic Confederation. There is often no intrinsic reason why a certain territory should be under several distinct governments, rather than under one. Hence the strong yearning in such instances among patriotic citizens for centralization — the national party in perpetual antagonism with local authorities. The true ground of complaint in these cases is not the separate government over a portion of the territory. This, of itself, is no evil. Other things being equal, the sovereignty of a small state is the more likely to be paternal in its administration, is the more amenable to the good-will of its subjects, and presents a larger proportion of stimulants and rewards to individual

ambition. The great evil is the bristling of the frontier of every petty state with custom-houses, the *surveillance* of an omnipresent army of impertinent revenue officers, the multiplication of annoying restrictions on intercourse and trade upon routes which nature indicates as unembarrassed highways of travel and commerce. These hinderances are rendered the more harassing and grievous by the extension of railroads and of steam navigation, by the habits of despatch which have grown so rapidly upon the whole business world, and by the increased proportional sacrifice of time and money involved in arresting any operation of trade between its outset and its terminus. Then, too, as regards foreign commerce, different regulations among contiguous and closely allied states must needs give some the advantage over others, and must therefore foster growing discontent among the less favored. The Zoll-Verein, so far as it extends, must necessarily confer all the benefits without the evils of a political union, and must, in the same proportion, weaken the party of nationality, and strengthen the several local administrations.

This principle was held in view in the formation of our national union. Each of the sovereign States had, prior to the Confederation, the right to make and enforce its own commercial regulations; and there is no political reason why a *cordon* of custom-houses might not extend along all our State lines. There might have been a central legislature, judiciary, and executive, without the cession to the General Government of jurisdiction over commerce. This undoubtedly would have been the case, had our States been separated by strongly-defined geographical boundaries, by tangible differences of race and character, or by dissimilar material interests. This latter ground of separation does indeed exist between the extreme northern and southern members of the Confederation; but in passing from State to State, the transition is hardly appreciable. There are no two contiguous States, between which commercial restrictions and differences would not be as inappropriate, burdensome, and annoying, as between adjacent counties in the same State. And among the safeguards of our Union, we doubt whether more confident reliance is to be placed on any, than on the difficulty of so drawing a line of separation that there should not be injurious restrictions on a commerce naturally free. On the other

hand, were our territory divided between two or more separate confederations, free trade alone could prevent their fusion into one.

In what we have said, we have had in view the now mooted question of commercial reciprocity between the United States and the British North American Colonies. That those Colonies are not members of our Confederation seems a mere accident of political history. Had they been earlier under the supremacy of Great Britain, they would not have been in her possession now. But at the period of the American Revolution, the French, who are the most contented of subjects under any government not their own, were still, in Canada at least, the predominant race. They have been gradually declining in numbers and influence, as is always the fortune of whatever race is placed in close proximity with scions from the Anglo-Saxon stock. In that same proportion have the inhabitants of the Provinces become assimilated with the people of the States in industry, enterprise, intelligence, and the love of liberty, while personal intercourse and political sympathy have established numerous grounds of common sentiment and interest. Nova Scotia presents the chief exception to this remark, and that mainly on the score of the numerous Loyalists from the revolted Colonies, who occupied high places of trust and honor in that Province, and have diffused and transmitted the antipathies engendered by their forced exile and the confiscation of their estates. Between Canada and the United States, the *quasi* national union is every day becoming closer and stronger. Among our most frequented routes of summer travel are those which cross the Niagara at the Falls, traverse Lake Ontario, descend the St. Lawrence, or reach Montreal by Lake Champlain and the intervening railroad. The pleasure excursions, which for the last two or three years have been organized on an extensive scale, have carried thousands of our citizens to Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec. On the other hand, Boston and New York have been becoming the chief emporia of Canadian travel and business; nor are there any of our watering places, in which Canadian guests are not found in growing numbers. These bonds of mutual intercourse have favored joint enterprises for more easy intercommunication, such as could never have been projected, had not a strong

feeling of international union given the first impulse. These various railroad lines, which are to connect Portland, Boston, and New York, and, through them, numerous other cities, with Montreal and Quebec, are constantly bringing our citizens and the citizens of the Provinces into the closest financial relations. At the festivals, which mark the successive stages of these works, equal zeal is manifested on both sides the frontier; and the language of the Provincials indicates, on their part, a sense of property in whatever commercial advantages our markets and harbors may afford, — a growing disposition to take our ports on their routes of traffic and supply to and from the Old World. The European and North American railroad, when constructed, must produce a reciprocal posture of affairs as regards our steam navigation to and from the British islands, making the easternmost port of Nova Scotia the *entrepot* of our speediest communication with England. This same railroad, in its facilities for way travel and traffic, will extend a *cordon* of fraternal intercourse from our Atlantic cities through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, making the inhabitants of those Provinces our near neighbors, and obliterating the remnants of hostile feeling, which are already concentrating themselves in the eastern peninsula, on their way to oblivion.

The community of interests and pursuits between our Northern States and the Provinces is so entire, as scarcely to admit a line of demarcation. The agricultural products of the Provinces are identical with our own. Canada furnishes wheat-soils, only less fertile than the newly reclaimed territory of our western States. The lumber trade in its various branches identifies Maine with her British neighbors, and imprints the same intensely defined individuality of character on each side of the frontier. The fisheries not only afford employment for a large amount of industry and enterprise both in the Provinces and in the northern States, but the preferred fishing grounds are, in part, the same for English and American citizens.

There are also strong bonds of political sympathy between the colonists and ourselves, — stronger, in fact, than unite them with the mother country. They have the Anglo-Saxon love of freedom and impatience of a foreign yoke, however legitimate and however light. They have taken many

of the first steps which we took toward political emancipation, — probably the only steps that we should have taken, had ours been met like theirs by concessions on the part of the English government. Great Britain has found it impossible to keep them in leading-strings, and has purchased, we sincerely trust, the permanence of her nominal sovereignty by making it little more than nominal. The extended jurisdiction and important functions of their local parliaments render them virtually their own rulers; for the *veto* power, though vested in the British ministry, could be safely exercised only in the case of such enactments as were feebly seconded by the popular voice. They are, therefore, for all practical purposes, our brother republicans, and, as such, they look to us for their examples in legislation and administration.

All these circumstances create a strong fellow-feeling, strongest of course on the frontier, but thence propagated with increasing rapidity with the growing facilities of intercommunication. And it is this fellow-feeling that renders commercial restrictions not only oppressive and vexatious, but easy of evasion, and inoperative in proportion to their rigidness and minuteness. In such a posture of affairs, the revenue laws sit lightly upon the general conscience. Smuggling becomes an act of self-defence, or even of heroic patriotism. Contraband trade multiplies its subterfuges faster than they can be ferreted out and suppressed, and thus deranges the course, and puts at hazard the profits, of legitimate business. Especially must this be the case, when the two states lie open to each other, not alone through the few ports of a rock-bound sea-coast, but at numberless lake and river landings. The amount of commodities annually smuggled across our northern and northeastern boundary defies estimate, and is accounted largest by those nearest to the scene of operation; nor could it be essentially checked without a standing army, or an imported company of Austrian revenue officers. Indeed, there are forms of contraband commerce, which are daily conducted under the very eyes, and with the tacit consent, of the officers of the customs, and the attempt to suppress which would lead to open rebellion.

While these considerations have great weight in favor of reciprocity, there is no branch of industry in the United States which needs protection against the British Provinces.

Were importation thence entirely free, it would consist, almost solely, either of such commodities as are furnished from our own resources in a rapidly decreasing quantity, or of such as, on account of the large proportion of their freight to their value, will not bear a distant transportation. The products of the forest in this country are fast dwindling to the standard of a merely local consumption; and our general markets will soon be dependent on those vast northern regions, where the axe may be plied for a century to come without overtaking the reproductive energies of nature, and where, for reasons inherent in the climate, the encroachments of population upon the countless leagues of forest must always be slow. The sterility of the soil in the insular and peninsular portions of the Provinces must ever render the fisheries an essential department of their industry. On the other hand, the steady progress of the smaller manufactures and the growing needs of our merchant service, have, for the last thirty years, been constantly diverting New England capital from the fisheries, and rendering it more and more difficult to furnish crews for the vessels that still remain in that business. And when we consider how much greater are the exposures and privations incurred in the Bay of Fundy and on the Bank of Newfoundland by our fishermen than by those whose homes are almost within hailing distance of the fishing-grounds, — for how small a portion of the year our vessels can be engaged in that service, and to how unsettled habits of life their crews are liable during the residue of their time, — it could hardly be a subject of regret, if, in this department, the competition of the Provinces in our markets should be as successful as they could desire. Bituminous coal is found in the United States, east of the Alleghanies, in quantities too small to bear any appreciable relation to the demand; while the transportation from the great Western basin is too costly, and the demand within that basin too large and too rapidly increasing, to render that a source of supply for the Atlantic States. Under whatever restrictions, we must depend on the inexhaustible mines of Nova Scotia; and the free importation from them would essentially diminish the cost both of subsistence and of manufacture. The Nova Scotia coal is especially fitted for use in puddling furnaces; and its free introduction would therefore tend in one department to relieve the depressed condition of

the iron interest. Gypsum is another commodity which distant transportation renders too costly for use. Yet it is, for much of the soil of New England, the most efficient of all fertilizing agents; while it must be procured chiefly from the Provinces. Its free introduction, then, can be only a source of gain and a stimulus to agricultural enterprise, without establishing a competition that can be injuriously felt in any quarter.

As regards the lighter, more elaborate, and more valuable kinds of manufactured articles, there are ample reasons why the British colonists cannot, for a long time to come, compete with us in their own markets, and can never undersell us or depreciate our goods in our ports. It has till recently been the policy of Great Britain, to keep her colonies in entire dependence on herself as to commodities of these descriptions; and under the present more liberal *régime*, established industrial habits retain almost the force of laws, so that the children prefer the investments of labor, skill, and capital under which their fathers prospered. But to whatever extent the Provincials may become manufacturers, it is impossible that the wages of labor in the Provinces should ever fall much below our standard. Wages are determined, first, by the intelligence and self-respect of the laborer, which fix the kind and degree of subsistence which he is in a position to need and claim; secondly, by the relation of demand and supply in the labor market; and, thirdly, by the greater or less ease with which the operative can become an independent proprietor. In the first particular, while the standard of intelligence and refinement among our native population is perhaps higher than among our neighbors under the British crown, they are rapidly following our steps as to popular education, and they receive much smaller proportional accessions than we do of a degraded foreign population, whose brutish habits of living have a direct tendency to reduce the price of labor to what will furnish the discomfort, smoke, and rags of a shanty. As to the relation of demand and supply, this same influx of foreigners tends to glut our labor-market in comparison with theirs. Then, too, their vast tracts of unimproved, but improvable, land promise to hold out facilities for independent proprietorship, long after the eligible portions of our public lands shall have been purchased and occupied. The probability therefore is, that, even for centuries to come, our manu-

factures, so far from being affected by Provincial competition, may be the readiest and cheapest sources of supply for the British citizens of North America.

Let us now examine in detail the actual and potential relations of the several British possessions to the United States. Canada exports to the United States lumber, grain, and wool. The value of the lumber received through the Lakes is not less than a million of dollars annually. The markets on the Hudson derive from this source from one third to one half of their supply. Even in Michigan, the chief lumber State west of the Alleghanies, the demand outstrips the capacities of the remaining forests, and is largely fed from Canada. The Canadian trade in grain and wool is confined chiefly to localities near the frontier; and, while it is the basis of a mutually convenient and lucrative exchange, it cannot, either in quantity or price, produce any appreciable effect upon the traffic in those commodities as furnished from our own soil. Our exports to Canada consist chiefly of tobacco, sugar, molasses, maize, pork, salt, manufactures of cotton, wool, and wood, and such foreign commodities as tea, coffee, wines, hides, and dried fruits; most of them articles derived in much larger quantities from Great Britain, or by means, of British vessels, but which, under favorable regulations, might be furnished almost wholly from our ports. The total exports of Canada to the United States exceed six millions of dollars annually, and are wholly paid for by our productions, manufactures, and imports. The surplus products of Canada already find their most convenient outlet to the ocean through the ports of the United States. At certain seasons, and for many localities, the Erie and Champlain canals offer the best means of transportation, both as to safety and cheapness. The Ogdensburg and Erie railroads, and the railways connecting Buffalo with Boston and New York, receive Canadian produce from the Lakes, and without transshipment, deliver it at the emporia of our commerce. To these routes, the Montreal and Portland railroad will soon be added.

New Brunswick and Nova Scotia export chiefly lumber, gypsum, coal, grindstones, and the produce of the fisheries. In return, they must import not only manufactured and foreign commodities, but by far the greatest portion of their breadstuffs. In the article of flour, they have been among the

best customers of the United States, next only to Brazil. But the course of trade is now changed. The natural productions of Canada are admitted free into these provinces, while flour from the United States is subject to a duty of from twenty-five to seventy-five cents per barrel. Consequently Canada flour obtains the preference, and the Canada vessels, which carry breadstuffs to Halifax or St. John, are loaded with return cargoes of sugar, molasses, and other foreign commodities, which were formerly purchased, and, but for commercial restrictions, might still be more advantageously purchased, in our Atlantic cities.

Prince Edward's island, though chiefly an agricultural colony, and raising a surplus of some descriptions of farm produce, is dependent in great part on commerce for its breadstuffs, and may, by suitable commercial regulations, be made mainly dependent for them on the United States.

Newfoundland furnishes no articles of export except the produce of her fisheries, — seal skins and furs, obtained principally from Labrador. For breadstuffs, manufactured goods, and foreign commodities, she is even now a customer of the United States to the annual amount of a million of dollars, though her exports to the United States are hardly worth a tenth part of that sum, or a fortieth part of her entire exports. Whether this trade shall be doubled on the one side and increased ten or twenty-fold on the other, or whether it shall dwindle and disappear, depends on the removal or the continuance of the present restrictions.

The population of the British North American Colonies now exceeds two millions, and is steadily increasing, though in consequence of the disadvantages of climate, less rapidly, than that of the Middle and Western States of our Union. Their industrial capacities are unlimited. They furnish the best localities in the world for the cod and herring fisheries. Their deposits of bituminous coal and gypsum are inexhaustible. Their forests abound in the finest timber, and will hardly seem less rich a century hence than now. A very large portion of their soil is of the highest order of productiveness. In facilities for ocean, lake, and river navigation, they are second to no other region of similar extent. If they shall ever support a manufacturing population, their affluence of fuel and their unlimited amount of water power may

place them, in this regard, on a level with the most favored nation on either continent. Climate, habit, and the growing ascendency of the hardy Anglo-Saxon stock, render their inhabitants industrious and enterprising to an almost unprecedented degree. At the same time, the limited range of their products must always keep them dependent on importation for a very large proportion of the necessaries of subsistence, for luxuries of almost every class, and for numerous descriptions of raw material whenever they shall become manufacturers to any considerable extent. So long as they are under the British crown, their commercial intercourse with Great Britain will take place on the freest and most favorable terms. But if they are admitted to our own ports on similar terms, their commerce will be spared the risks of ocean navigation, and the greatly enhanced outlay of capital and labor involved in the transportation of merchandise from continent to continent. A coasting trade involves but a small fraction of the expenditure necessitated by European traffic. Other things being equal, commerce left free will gravitate towards the nearest markets.

By a recent act of the Imperial Parliament, the crown duties previously levied are abolished in those colonies which, through their local legislatures, exercise the power of enacting their own tariff of duties. The franchise thus granted has been exercised by all the North American colonies. They have abolished, for the present, all discriminating duties to the disadvantage of American manufactures, which are now admitted on the same terms with those of Great Britain. Under the former *régime*, the carrying trade between our southern ports and Great Britain was reduced to the most beggarly standard of profit by the crowding competition of English ships. A ship might be laden at Liverpool with manufactured goods for a British North American port, and thence take a cargo of lumber to the West Indies, or even to one of our own southern ports. These two operations furnished a sufficient profit for the voyage, and the ship could afford to return in ballast. Under such circumstances, a cotton freight for a halfpenny a pound was not to be despised; since, with but little delay, it would defray the expenses of the homeward voyage, and might leave a balance of a hundred or two of pounds of clear profit. Our ships, dependent almost

wholly on the freight of cotton for the income of their voyages, were thus cut down to one third or one fourth of their former prices; and during some years, it required the closest calculation and the most rigid economy for them to make simply saving voyages; while a very low interest on the capital invested was procured only by those vessels that could take advantage of the most unhealthy season, or of some fluctuation in the price of cotton, which led to unusually hurried shipments. The advantage of the threefold voyage, together with free entry to all colonial ports, (whereas, until the recent change in policy, only a few ports, and those not the best *entrepots* for the carrying trade, were open to our vessels,) is now enjoyed by our shipping; and, not only so, but during periods of stagnation in the shipment of cotton, some of our largest and most costly ships have made remunerating freights by the transportation of lumber from the colonies to Great Britain. Should not our government respond to the earnest wish of the now dominant party in Canada for relations of commercial reciprocity, it is more than probable that the former duties and restrictions will be reimposed by the Canadian and other Provincial legislatures. Such a measure is urgently sought by the commercial interests of Montreal and Quebec, and holds a foremost place in the budget of the leaders of the opposition in the Canadian Parliament. In connection with a return to the restrictive policy, the expediency of closing all the Canadian canals to vessels of the United States is agitated by the opposition, and regarded with no small measure of favor. It is contended, that the present commercial arrangements on the part of Canada throw most of her trade into the hands of our citizens without any countervailing benefit to her interests; while, by the exclusive use of her own canals, she might force through the St. Lawrence, in British bottoms, even a large portion of our western produce, which now finds its way through Oswego and Ogdensburg to Boston and New York. In this case, an incalculable injury would be inflicted equally on our lake ports and our railroad interests.

We have spoken of the effect produced on our carrying trade by the partial removal of restrictions through the action of the Provincial legislatures. The commerce between the United States and the Provinces has increased with unex-

ampled rapidity. The value of goods exported from Boston alone to the Provinces, during the present year, will exceed a million of dollars, (about one fourth consisting of foreign goods purchased of course by the earnings of home industry, and the residue of domestic produce and manufactures,) all which has been paid for, with immaterial exceptions, by commodities for which we are necessarily, or may be advantageously, dependent upon our British neighbors. For instance, during the first three quarters of the present year, not a bushel of wheat or barrel of flour has been entered at Boston from either of the Provinces; while the return cargoes furnish an exhibit of ship-bread manufactured from our home-grown flour to the value of nearly thirty thousand dollars. Two thousand dollars will cover the amount of wool received during the same period, — a quantity which is wholly unworthy of account, as affecting in any degree our domestic wool market. On the other hand, there has been imported from the Provinces into Boston pine wood, (of which the demands of our railroads are rapidly exhausting our own forests,) to the value of thirty thousand dollars, which will be doubled during the remaining quarter, coal to the value of more than ninety thousand dollars, and plaster to the amount of ten thousand dollars. During the same period, the entries, as also the clearances, of Provincial vessels have averaged between four and five *per diem*, representing a very large proportion of the revenue of labor, truckage, wharfage, and storage earned by the commerce of the city. We have not before us the returns for the years preceding 1843, when the differential duties were first removed in Canada; but it must be obvious, to any one acquainted with the business of Boston, that in this department the increase has been proportionally greater than in any other description of foreign commerce. In the Lake ports, the change is even more obvious and striking. The duties received at Toronto have risen from thirty thousand to four hundred thousand dollars within the last eight years; similar results would be derived from the statistics of numerous other ports on both sides of the line. And all this has taken place, notwithstanding a heavy duty on our side, averaging twenty-three and a half per cent. on the principal articles of importation, and a counter duty on our exports averaging twelve-

and a half per cent. in Canada, and not materially differing, though somewhat lower, in the other Provinces. When we consider that Great Britain still enjoys by far the larger part of the Provincial commerce, it hardly needs to be said that more equally reciprocal duties would add largely to the amount of mercantile intercourse in this direction, while reciprocally free trade in the commodities mutually needed could scarcely fail to reverse, in this regard, the relations of Great Britain and the United States. On the other hand, the restoration of differential duties on our manufactures would be seriously felt to the detriment of our great commercial cities, while it would be absolutely disastrous to the lake and river ports, both the Canadian and our own.

The first movement towards a reciprocally free trade between the United States and British North America originated in Canada, and was occasioned by the withdrawal of all protection by the home government for colonial produce, in 1846. Colonial timber and wheat were thus brought in British markets into a losing competition with timber from the Baltic, and wheat from the Black Sea and the Danube; whereas, previously, the enhanced wages of labor and cost of transportation had been more than balanced by discriminating duties in favor of the colonies. The effect was to impart added speed and strength to the current of commercial intercourse, which the legislation of 1843 had already directed towards our own shores. Shortly after this, a delegation was sent from Canada to arrange terms of reciprocity between that government and ours. The scheme was regarded with great favor by the administration, and a bill, abolishing duties on the chief staples of Canadian produce, on condition of a similarly free admission of the agricultural products of the United States, passed the House of Representatives, and, with but little opposition in the Senate, was lost there, through the pressure of other business. During the last four sessions of Congress, delegates have been sent to Washington for this same purpose from all the Provinces, except Newfoundland. This last named Province depends for its revenue to a great degree on the duty upon breadstuffs, and has therefore been reluctant to enter into the arrangement. But its revenue at present considerably exceeds the expenses of its government; and should the products of the fisheries be admitted into the

arrangement for reciprocity, it would forfeit much greater advantages by the free admission of these products from the other Provinces into our ports, and the continuance of a twenty per cent. duty on these same products when imported from Newfoundland, than it could gain by retaining its present tariff. This consideration, it is believed, has already changed the disposition of the government of that island, and public opinion among its enlightened citizens, to such a degree that there will no longer be a dissentient voice among the Provincial legislatures.

In the history of these negotiations and efforts thus far, it is worthy of remark, that the bill which passed the House of Representatives was introduced by an eminent and far-sighted merchant, and that the policy which it advocated has been constantly gaining favor with the mercantile community. But it is of at least equal, if not superior, importance to our manufacturing interests. Whatever may be the weight of argument by which *high* protective duties on foreign manufactures might be recommended, it is morally certain that they can never be reimposed in this country. Nor, if they could be, would their restoration be desirable; for experience has shown us, that protection under our government, while it may last long enough to put a vast amount of capital at hazard, is sure to be abrogated before the manufactures, which it has nursed into being, have reached self-sustaining maturity. A fluctuating tariff is more to be dreaded than one which defies every law of political economy, and every rule of right; for the energy of a growing people can sustain and surmount any obstacles that can be calculated and provided against, but may be crippled and prostrated by perpetual tampering. For purposes of protection, it is admitted on all hands, that our present tariff is inadequate. In order to render it protective in its workings, where it is so ostensibly, the substitution of specific for *ad valorem* duties is essential; and of this, notwithstanding the repeated recommendation of the Executive, the prospect is too remote to be relied upon. It therefore concerns our manufacturers to seek such protection as they can procure, rather than to pursue the shadow of a brief past, which may never again become substance. Now, the two modes most readily open to them through national legislation are the cheapening of materials and the multiplying of outlets for their goods.

There is one important particular, in which the first of these ends may be attained by the measures which we are now advocating. A person, who has not had his attention expressly directed to the subject, can hardly be aware of the bearing of a free lumber trade on almost every description of manufacture, and especially on that of cheap goods. To say nothing of lasts, shoe-pegs, and other commodities made wholly of wood, which, in New England alone, would demand the annual felling of a forest of no mean dimensions, an immense amount of deal and other lumber is consumed in rollers for cotton goods, spools for thread, cotton and yarns, boxes for packing, and the like. There are manufactures, in which a saving in this article alone would have created an appreciable profit during the recent period of stagnation and revulsion.

But of immeasurably greater importance is the opening of new markets, or the more complete occupancy of markets already opened for our manufactures. And we can become sellers only in the proportion in which we become purchasers. We can command other markets only in the proportion in which we render our own attractive. Our best customers will be those who can make the best bargain with us for their own wares. It was this policy, that induced the British government to withdraw their protection from the wheat and lumber of the North American colonies. This alone, and no merely philanthropic agitation, could have procured the repeal of the corn-laws and the partial triumph of the free trade party. By these measures, Great Britain has indeed lost her certain hold on the trade of these few Provinces; but in return has acquired the almost unrivalled control of the whole world besides. Her ports are the best markets for European and for ocean commerce of almost every description. But so unexpensive is the coasting trade as compared with transatlantic navigation, that we can, if we will, make our own ports the best markets for these colonies. They manufacture almost nothing; and yet are consumers of manufactured goods to as large an amount as any two millions of people in the world. Our manufacturing industry is still increasing, though with diminished outlets for its products, and with a powerful British rivalry in our own markets. Factories are springing up, not only in the elder of our young sisterhood of western States, but in the South, where it was until recently deemed

impracticable to employ slave labor in the finer processes of manufacture. The discovery of the equal or greater cheapness of steam power in operations for which water power was deemed essential, is peopling many of our maritime cities and towns with a manufacturing population. It is surely, then, for our highest interest to accede to the terms of those, who will become our constant buyers, if we will only be theirs. The entire surplus products of the British Provinces might be absorbed in our commerce, without lowering the prices or slackening the sale of any staple of our own production. That entire surplus may be poured in upon us, almost without reservation, if we will admit it free of duty. The stimulus thus given to their industry will increase their population, — will, in even a greater ratio, enhance their ability to become purchasers, and thus furnish a vent for our manufactures, which may grow with their growth, and may do much towards preventing in future that accumulation of unsalable commodities which has, time and again, paralyzed the productive energy of our people, and which now is keeping thousands of potential producers in beggarly idleness.

But it may be said, the mutually free introduction of the products of the soil between the British Provinces and the United States is reciprocity only in name. Our purchases of them will consist almost entirely of natural products, while their purchases of us will comprise but a small proportion of such products, and will consist chiefly of manufactured goods. Will not, then, the free admission of our manufactures, at least of the cheaper and more needed, be essential to reciprocity on a fair basis? We reply, that it is immaterial to our interests whether our manufactures are admitted into the Provinces free, or only on the same terms with those of Great Britain. In the latter case, our goods are relatively free; for our nearness to the colonial markets gives us a double advantage over the mother country. In the first place, it essentially diminishes the cost of transportation; and, secondly, it enables merchants to adapt their exports in kind and amount to the condition and needs of markets with which they can hold instantaneous communication, and thus prevents the loss from excessive or ill-timed shipments, which is incident to all distant commerce, and of which the recent history of the California trade has multiplied examples. By

making it for the interest of our colonial neighbors to frequent our markets as sellers, we insure the disposal of our manufactures in exchange for their produce, whatever may be the provisions of their several tariffs. But their governments are sustained chiefly by import duties; and if we sell them all that we can, they must either retain their duties on a portion of our commodities, or must take the lead, (which it would be absurd to expect of dependent administrations,) in meeting the expense of their civil and military list by direct taxation.

But while it is a matter of comparative indifference whether our manufactured goods, which need encounter no competition, are duty free or not, there are at least two of our staples of native growth, which enter largely into the colonial trade, and which need the freedom from duty proposed in the contemplated arrangement, in order that they may not be excluded or depreciated by the production of the same article in the Provinces themselves. To one of these, wheat, we have already alluded, and have shown that the introduction of Canada wheat duty free into the eastern Provinces is injuriously affecting the commerce of the United States. The other of these articles is pork, which is the principal food of the lumbering population, and can be produced in the western States at less cost than anywhere else in the world. The duty now paid on pork in Canada and New Brunswick swells the price of the lumber which we import thence; so that we actually reimburse the greater portion of the revenue collected on this article, besides encouraging to a certain extent its production in those Provinces, which, in this regard, cannot compete with our western valley, except under the protection of a heavy duty.

It may be objected to the proposed measures of reciprocity, that they will occasion a loss of revenue to the United States. The President's recent message furnishes a direct answer to this objection. The estimated fiscal resources for our next financial year exceed, by twenty millions of dollars, all the estimated expenditures, and by thirty millions, all the ordinary expenses of government; while the entire public debt is but little more than seventy millions, the greater part of which is redeemable only after a term of years. The evil to which we are exposed, then, is the accu-

mulation, of a surplus revenue, which, on the one hand, invites to profligate and wasteful measures of expenditure or distribution, or, on the other, facilitates the extension of an aggressive military policy, and tends to nourish whatever germs of dissension may grow into future wars. Under this posture of affairs, were the proposed reciprocity to issue in a much greater loss of revenue than can possibly ensue, we would advocate it on that very ground. But a single million would cover the entire deficit that could result from this source; and even this would be more than balanced by the increased revenue of our manufacturing industry, by the thence augmented consumption of foreign imports by our own population, and by the degree to which we should furnish the provinces with the fruits of our transatlantic commerce.

This last item merits a separate consideration. The time was, within the memory of many of our readers, when every maritime town on our sea-board had a direct trade with Great Britain, France, Russia, and the West Indies; and when several of our second-rate towns were extensively engaged in the East India trade. All this business now centres in our few great commercial emporia. Instead of keeping large capitals at hazard, and incurring the risk of importing unsalable stocks, and of glutting a market of small capacity, the merchants of our lesser towns and cities find it for their advantage to resort to the nearest great market, and to purchase foreign commodities in such quantities as may satisfy existing demands. The Provincial merchants, in their direct intercourse with the mother country, are exposed to the disadvantages which have driven our own foreign commerce from so many of its former marts. They will find it for their interest to purchase in Boston or New York, at the small advance which alone is needed for a profitable trade where importation is heavy and sales certain, rather than to incur the large investments, the certainty of slow returns, and the risk of ultimate loss, which are all involved in their becoming or continuing their own importers.

The reciprocally free trade, in behalf of which we have entered our earnest plea, may not unaptly be urged as a compromise measure, tending, without sacrifice of sound principle or policy, to mediate between the protectionist and

the free-trade parties. Under the present tariff, iron, though charged with a duty of thirty per cent., receives less protection than any other commodity whatever. The reason is this. The intrinsic worth of the same raw material varies but little between country and country, or between continent and continent. The same manufactured article, however, must vary in price between country and country, in the compound ratio of the wages of labor and the relative amount of labor expended in its production. Now, of the cost of our coarsest cotton fabrics, the raw material constitutes no less than seventy-five per cent., so that the existing duty of twenty-five per cent., (with the added advantage of lower freightage of our cotton,) if not evaded by fraudulent invoices, is more than enough for protection, — nay, would yield full protection, did the English manufacturers work gratuitously. On the other hand, iron ore has hardly an appreciable value. In its crude state, it would not sell for enough to pay the cost of a hundred miles' transportation; and the most productive mine would be abandoned, were there not fuel close at hand to work it. Thus the cost of iron is almost all labor; and this is the reason why Great Britain, with her always glutted labor market, can undersell our iron manufacturers, and why, in the general grounds of preference for a low tariff, iron may be fairly deemed to constitute an exceptional case. But Pennsylvania, in claiming protection for this fundamental item of her resources, encounters opposition, not from the anti-tariff party alone, but from many of the protectionists, who are unwilling to extend to a single article measures within which she would embrace all American manufactures. Especially has this feeling been exhibited in New England, whose cotton manufactures are in an equally depressed condition with the iron interest of Pennsylvania. It is pertinent, in this connection, to refer to the fact that New England, (including the Champlain district of New York,) has, under the impulse of remunerating prices, produced forty thousand tons of pig-iron per annum, an amount larger than that produced by the whole of Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution. But not to insist on this bond of common interest between Pennsylvania and New England, what our coarser cottons need is an outlet rather than protection, — a larger market beyond our own borders, not dimi-

nished competition within them. The cotton interest might then deem itself sufficiently provided for by measures which should throw fully open the Provincial market, and might thus be induced to lend its advocacy to the loud demands and urgent needs of Pennsylvania; while, in the one article of iron, the free-trade party may see cause to relax the rigidness of their economical creed, if this concession be not regarded as an entering wedge for others. Thus may the cotton and the iron interests unite in measures for their joint resuscitation and prosperity; while, if both insist on the same mode of relief, and that a general tariff on a high scale of protection, they may remain prostrate for half a century in their worse than Mezentian embrace.

We have thus far confined ourselves to mercantile and financial considerations. The subject before us involves political interests of no less weight, and perhaps of more immediately urgent importance. The annexation of the British Provinces to the United States is at present strongly agitating the public mind, especially in Canada. So vast is the British body politic, that the circulation grows faint and cold at its extremities. It is not of extortion, vexatious intermeddling, or any form of step-motherly tyranny that the Provinces complain; but of being attached to a system in which they are out of place, — of being satellites that can never emerge from the penumbra of their primary planet. Their separate administrations are necessarily feeble, and the Imperial government has made their weakness more painfully apparent by the very measures which have rendered them, to so great a degree, virtually independent. Their material interests are in part identical, in part reciprocal, with our own. They belong to our mercantile system. This is believed and felt, almost without dissent, in Canada, and by the greater part of the leading and controlling minds in the other Provinces. The only question is, whether the identity shall be recognized, and the reciprocity effected by political amalgamation, or by terms of close mercantile alliance The latter is, of course, the policy advocated by official persons, as also by the majority of the influential citizens of the Provinces. The annexation party, however, is by no means weak in talent, character, or influence; and in its ranks may be found some, who are opposed to immediate action with

regard to reciprocity, on the ground that it will give general contentment and satisfaction, and will postpone, perhaps to a far distant day, the political union which they desire.

Now, on this very ground, would we, as friends of the Union of these States, advocate the proposed reciprocity of commerce. We deprecate the growth of the annexation movement. We can contemplate it in no aspect, in which it is not fraught with difficulty and peril. It is hardly conceivable, that a peaceful secession from British rule would be suffered by the home-government; or, were it so, that the secession could take place without disturbing the pacific and friendly relations now existing between that government and ours. Nor could this subject be seriously discussed within our own borders, except through the rekindling, from the scarcely quiet embers, with wilder fierceness than at any former period, of the fires of sectional jealousy and animosity. The South would insist on Mexico and Cuba as a counterpoise to the accession of northern territory; while the philanthropic sentiment of the North, rendered more vigorous by snuffing the keen, frosty air from beyond the Lakes, would spurn, with more vehement indignation than now, an extension of the domain of slavery. In fine, we can conceive of no farther annexation of territory, northward or southward, as consistent with the integrity of the Union. With any serious disturbance of its present balance of forces, it must either explode into unsphered fragments, or must break in sunder from the mutual strain of those weights so dissilient as already to stretch the elastic cord of the confederation to its utmost tension. We trust, therefore, that questions of this sort may still be pushed into that future, in which Time will, as of yore, devour his own children, and among them, not a few of the problems with which we dare not grapple, and the perplexities through which we can find no clew; — or rather, that they may be committed to that Providence, supreme over the affairs of nations as of individual man, which, in marvellous ways, often arrests the current of events at the very brink of fearful rapids, and opens a safe and quiet channel for its flow. If, then, the desired reciprocity will stave off the annexation question, as we believe that it will, we feel that, in all that we have written, we have alleged no stronger argument than this in its behalf.

For all these reasons, we rejoice that the President, in his Message, has commended this subject to the action of the present Congress, as a subject for legislation rather than for treaty; and are gratified to learn, through the same and other sources, that the British minister at Washington has expressed the more than acquiescence, the strong desire, of his government, that reciprocally free trade may be established between the States and the Provinces.

There are other measures, closely connected with commercial reciprocity, in the minds of both parties, and in the interests of one or both, on which a concurrent action of Congress may be anticipated. One of these is the free navigation of the St. John and other large rivers of New Brunswick, which have their head waters partly in Maine, but reach the ocean through British territory; and especially of the St. Lawrence, as the natural outlet of the Lake navigation. The immense trade of the northwestern States and Territories has been forced through the Erie Canal, making the procession of boats through its whole extent as continuous as that of carriages through the heart of a great city; while, crowded to the uttermost degree, it still leaves large accumulations of goods at every principal landing, and is never closed by ice without arresting a great amount of merchandise midway between its termini. There is now, on the great Lakes, not far from eight million dollars' worth of shipping in the employ of citizens of the United States, and running to and from different points of a coast three thousand miles in extent. The Lakes are navigable for only seven months in the year. A full fourth part of this shipping is well adapted for ocean navigation, and might be profitably employed during the winter months in foreign commerce, or in coasting trade upon the Atlantic, thus virtually adding three thousand miles to our sea-coast. Our western wheat, could it be directly transported, might compete, in the British market, with that from the Danube and the Black Sea. Cleveland is a thousand miles nearer than Odessa to Liverpool. During the last two sessions, Congress was flooded with memorials from the legislatures, and with petitions from numerous bodies of citizens of the northwest, praying that measures be taken to procure the free navigation of the St. Lawrence. Many writers on the law of nations maintain, that a navigable river flowing in part through the

territory of two nations, though disemboguing under the sole jurisdiction of one of the two, is of right a common highway for both. Many of our own most accomplished statesmen, among whom it is enough to cite John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, have maintained the same principle, admitting, indeed, the right of the nation having sovereignty over the river's mouth to regulate, but not to appropriate to its sole use, the navigation of its lower waters. But it is more to our present purpose to state, that the British minister has already intimated the willingness of his government to concede the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, as one of a system of measures for the mutual advantage of the United States and the Colonies.

Another measure, which appertains to the same system, concerns the lumber cut on lands belonging to Maine and Massachusetts on the head waters of the St. John, which now pays an export duty at its mouth. By the terms of the treaty of Washington, American lumber, floated to the ocean through waters under British jurisdiction, was to be treated as British lumber. The intent of the treaty on both sides was, that such lumber should be exported duty free, as was all British lumber at that time. But New Brunswick had sold the stumpage of her public lands at too low a rate to meet the charges of their management. To replace this deficit, an act passed the Provincial legislature imposing an export duty on British lumber, but exempting that cut on territory of the United States. The bill was returned by the home government, with a requisition that it should be amended so as literally to conform to the terms of the treaty. This is a grievance demanding redress, and almost sure to receive it, if the wishes of the colonies and the parent government, as regards the pending commercial arrangements, are acceded to by Congress.

Another subject, on which we need touch but cursorily, since it has been ably and thoroughly discussed in a former number of this Review,* is the sea and coast fisheries of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. By the existing construction of treaties, our vessels are prohibited from taking, drying, or curing fish within three marine miles of any of the

* North American Review for April, 1846.

colonial coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks, south of Newfoundland. This prohibition is relaxed as regards the Bay of Fundy alone, and that as a matter of courtesy, not of right. Our citizens are thus excluded from some of the best grounds for the herring fishery, as well as from many of the conveniences and accommodations essential to the successful prosecution of every branch of fishing enterprise. These restrictions have, no doubt, been among the causes of the decline of our fisheries; though, as we have intimated, we regard the superior attractiveness of less precarious and more continuous modes of industry as a more influential cause. But however this may be, the fisheries still are, and will be for many years to come, an important, even if a diminishing, department of New England enterprise, — a valuable nursery of seamen for our naval and mercantile service, and a fit object for legislative and executive protection on the part of our national government. Dried fish has, indeed, ceased to be a prominent staple of our foreign commerce; nor can our own fisheries yield a sufficient supply even for our domestic consumption. The free introduction of the produce of the colonial fisheries cannot glut our markets, or depreciate the value of the same articles as furnished by the enterprise of our citizens. But if the freedom from duty, so earnestly desired for the products of the soil of the colonists, be extended to their maritime harvests, our fishermen must needs be admitted to equal rights with their own in their coasts and harbors, as an essential part of the policy which shall secure to their fishermen equal immunities with our own in our markets.

In our discussion, we have labored chiefly to show the advantages which would accrue to the United States from the proposed measures of reciprocity, without entering at large on the grounds of benefit to the British Provinces from the same arrangement. This last work we are spared by the fact, that the initiative measures towards this result have been adopted by them with an urgency and perseverance, sufficiently indicating the magnitude of the interests which they have at stake in the issue. We do not believe in the possibility of one-sided mercantile advantages. The policy, which gives a temporary vantage-ground to one, exhausts and neutralizes itself by impoverishing and crippling the other party. In

the infancy of modern commerce, the paramount doctrine was that of the balance of trade, according to which the one of two nations which exported to the other more than it imported from it, and received the balance in specie, was the gainer, and the other the loser; nor was it imagined that both parties could be benefited by any commercial arrangement or treaty. The sole effort of diplomatists was, therefore, to outwit one another, and to throw dust into one another's eyes. Thus, even in the peaceful transactions of traffic, nations occupied the position of mutual antagonists, were bristling with jealousies, were on the watch for retaliatory movements, and expected gain only by a corresponding loss on the other side. The utter explosion of this doctrine marks one of the greatest advances in the science of political economy. It is now universally admitted by sound economists and statesmen, that no commercial arrangement can be permanently advantageous to one party without being so to both; that the basis of virtual, when not of literal, reciprocity is the only solid groundwork of international relations; and that the increased prosperity of any one of the family of nations only offers an enlarged market for the industry, and an expanded field for the commerce, of every other. The recognition of these principles is fast girdling the earth with the zone of common interest, mutual good will, and reciprocal helpfulness. It is with no meaner view that we have filled these pages. We believe that we cannot accede to the well-considered desires, and minister to the well-earned prosperity, of our neighbors under an allied sovereignty, without exercising a charity which "blesses him that gives and him that takes."

The recent Railroad Jubilee in Boston was an occasion of intense importance, as regards both the past and the future. It marked the close of the era of divided interests, and of national self-consciousness in its exclusive and repulsive forms. It celebrated, as we trust, the birth of a *quasi* North American nationality, of which our country and British America will be equally proud to bear the name, to vindicate the honor, and enhance the prosperity, — separate, but not divided, — under different pilotage, but with the same cynosure. The two parties to this alliance are already so closely wedded together by community of interest and intimacy of intercourse, nay, by the simultaneous flash of intelligence and sentiment through

the whole vast territory, that their relations must henceforth be only pacific, and more and more fraternal. A war which should involve them in mutual hostility would be fraught with all the atrocity of a civil conflict, and can hardly be deemed within the range of possible events. And the colonies, as the pulsations of a common, social, and mercantile vitality beat through the veins of their and our joint body politic, are a hostage to insure our permanent peace with Great Britain, and, through her, with the whole European world. There are, at the present moment, urgent reasons why our republic should discharge her high mission, not by political propagandism or intermeddling, not by proffering or countenancing among other nations the infraction of that loyalty which she claims for herself, but by welcoming and extending overtures of peaceful and helpful intercourse whencesoever they may come, wherever they may reach. There is wisdom, both profound and timely, in the reiteration of Jefferson's maxim by the President, in the Message just delivered: — "*Friendly relations with all*, but *entangling alliances with none*, has long been a maxim with us. Our true mission is not to propagate our opinions, or to impose upon other countries our form of government by artifice or force; but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions."

Art. IX. — 1. *Travels in America.* By the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, (Lord Morpeth.) New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 85.

2. *Travels in the United States, etc., during* 1849 and 1850. By the Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 463.

Mrs. Trollope, in her somewhat remarkable work on The Domestic Manners of the Americans, after indulging in one of her sweeping tirades against the nation, observes, in a saving clause, "It must be remembered, here and everywhere, that this phrase, 'the Americans,' does not include

the instructed and travelled portion of the community." The tone of the volumes now under consideration is so very different from that of most English writers, that it might be doubted whether persons of rank should be included, when one speaks of the opinions of English travellers as a class. It could hardly have been anticipated, that the people of the United States would be judged far more leniently by lords and titled ladies than they have been by commoners. Perhaps one reason for this marked difference of opinion may be, that the commoner seeks to show a knowledge of courtly life by the stringency of his criticisms upon republican manners; while persons of established rank, feeling no anxiety about such matters, because they have nothing to strive after in this respect, are prepared to give a candid and unprejudiced account of whatever they may see.

The United States were long an enigma to the nations of Europe, so strange and novel in its character that they did not even strive to guess its meaning, but viewed it with contemptuous indifference, never dreaming of the mighty power to will and to perform that was to be developed out of our free institutions. Every nation is designed by Providence to work out some special act in the great drama of human progress. The design of our republic was to elevate common life, not into poetry, but into comfort; which, after all, has much about it that is truly poetical. The critics looked coldly upon the effort, and affirmed that it was only by degrading the whole community, that any thing like equality of position could be obtained. Where all were a little educated, none would be thoroughly instructed. Where all worked for bread, none could have leisure to cultivate the refinements of life. If all were placed above beggary, none could afford to patronize art. In short, under this new order of things, it was believed that all which tends to make life refined, beautiful, and attractive could never have an existence. Life would be one prolonged contest, in which every man would be constantly struggling to get before his neighbor, without any regard to the discomfort he might occasion him in the selfish scramble.

There is much plausibility and some truth in all this. The Republic in its earlier youth was a somewhat gawky boy; but strength is rarely graceful in its first development, and

time was wanting for the lad to find out what was the great work he had to perform, before his arms and legs could learn to walk and swing in their true places. Those who first wrote about the United States saw only the graceless aspect of our Republic. It has another side, which is rapidly coming into notice, and which compensates, in a great degree, for the present lack of many of the amenities of life which are so highly prized in the Old World.

The Great Exhibition has done more than any thing else, — perhaps, than all else, — to illustrate to Europeans the mission of the Anglo-American; and the part we have played there has been illustrative of our whole history. At the first opening, the works offered by our people were seen to be of quite a different character from those brought by other nations; therefore, they were at once condemned as inferior and unworthy of notice. Other nations had taxed all their skill to fashion brilliant gewgaws, such as might minister to the pride of nobles and potentates; while we brought an array of machinery, designed to mitigate the toil of the common laborer, and to cheapen the food, the garments, and the furniture of common life.

The mechanical labor of a country always lies at the feet of its rulers. Where wealthy aristocrats rule, there the mechanic exhausts his skill in the invention of new luxuries wherewith to adorn the ease of high life. There we find the most splendid jewelry and plate, the richest silks and laces, the softest and most brilliantly dyed carpets, the most sumptuous furniture; while cost is scarcely taken into account. But here in America, where all power is in the hands of the people, we find the skill of the inventor ever on the alert to cheapen the price of every thing, so as to bring it within the reach of the people at large. Thus the laborer can buy a clock with the price of a day's work; in a very few days, he can earn enough to purchase a carpet for his floor; he sits in a chair cut out and polished by machinery, of a form and quality which, a few years ago, would have made it an article of expensive luxury; and so on, through a catalogue far too long to be enumerated here. In the shop of the artisan, machinery is compelled to do work which, in other lands, is performed only by manual labor, and with an exactness and rapidity to which the hand can never attain.

The grand result of our institutions is, not to give elegance to the wealthy, but to give comfort to the poor. We seek the useful first and the ornamental afterwards; and shall we always be condemned for doing so? We think not, since the London Times, one of our severest critics, after ridiculing our want of taste and elegance all through the earlier months of the Exhibition, won over at last by American triumphs in other departments, exclaims with manly frankness: "Great Britain has received more useful ideas and more ingenious inventions from the United States, through the Exhibition, than from all other sources."

It is not in physical comfort alone that our institutions elevate the condition of the poor. This cannot be done without results that go far beyond. It is no small thing that every emigrant who brings to the United States a strong and willing pair of hands can, in a few years, become a freeholder, and surround himself with an array of comforts such as no European laborer can gain by a long life of toil; but it is much more that, in carrying out his aspirations of whatever sort, he has no limitations to his efforts, saving those which Providence set upon him at his birth.

We are not among those who deem the constitution of the American republic a work of absolute perfection, or the country itself a Utopia; but we do claim, that civilization is here taking by degrees a character unlike what it has borne in any other land or age, and that the history of our institutions marks the period when man came of age, and was freed from guardianship. When such an epoch comes in the life of an individual, it is usually followed by many acts of folly and indiscretion. Yet no one would therefore say, it were better a man should be restrained by the tutelage of parents or guardians through his whole life. All acknowledge, that freedom from such bonds is necessary for the attainment or development of a manly character. As with the individual, so is it with the nation. On first coming to its age of freedom, it must, undoubtedly, make many blunders, and be led away by many crude ideas and vain pursuits. But through all this, it will finally, there is good reason to believe, work its way, and develop a power such as the world has never seen before; a power which will owe its might to the fact that each individual of the body politic works, whether in war or

in peace, pressed on by the consciousness that he has a personal interest in the commonwealth, and that his own fortunes must rise or fall with those of the whole country. It makes little difference to the peasant of the Old World who are his rulers, for all use him as a mere tool, whether he will or no. Hence he labors and he fights like a brute, knowing nothing of that stimulus of individual ambition which is the motive power of every republican. This power, like that of steam, is dangerous from its intensity, and needs a check within the machine itself, a self-restraining force, to prevent the most injurious results. Intelligent religious faith is the only power strong enough to bring it into a wise subjection. In no country of the world, is there so vast a need that the influence of moral and religious instruction should be exerted to the utmost upon the unthinking multitude, in order to stay the fury of a zeal without knowledge, that too often changes the love of liberty into a mad licentiousness.

But it is time to turn our attention to the works which have suggested these remarks. The little volume by the Earl of Carlisle contains the carefully revised impressions left by a year's travel in the United States upon the mind of a person of sound common sense and candid judgment, with the unpleasant traits, commonly esteemed essential to the character of John Bull, quite left out. These impressions are compressed within the narrow limits of a single lecture, delivered before a public audience in the city of Leeds. In the course of his tour, the Earl of Carlisle visited twenty-two of our States, the Havana, and Canada. He gives a sketch of the principal cities, and of the general aspect of the country through which he passed, with great distinctness and effect. One is surprised to find how many pictures and ideas can be presented within the narrow space of eighty loosely printed pages. Landing in Boston, which, to him, as to most Englishmen, seemed the most home-like of all our cities, he thus describes its general features: —

"I look back with fond recollection to its well-built streets — the swelling dome of its State House — the pleasant walks on what is termed the Common — a park, in fact, of moderate size, in the centre of the city, where I made my first acquaintance with the bright winter sunsets of America, and the peculiar transparent green and opal tints which stripe the skies around them — the

long wooden causeways across the inner harbor, which rather recalled St. Petersburgh to my recollection — the newly-erected granite obelisk on a neighboring height, which certainly had no affinity with St. Petersburgh, as it was to mark the spot, sacred to an American, of the battle of Bunker's Hill — the old elm tree at the suburban university of Cambridge, beneath which Washington drew his sword in order to take command of the national army — the shaded walks and glades of Mount Auburn, the beautiful cemetery of Boston, to which none that we yet have can be compared, but which I trust before long our Chadwicks and Paxtons may enable us to imitate, and perhaps to excel. These are some of my external recollections of Boston; but there are some fonder still, of the most refined and animated social intercourse — of hospitalities which it seemed impossible to exhaust — of friendships which I trust can never be effaced. Boston appears to me, certainly, on the whole, the American town in which an Englishman of cultivated and literary tastes, or of philanthropic pursuits, would feel himself most at home." pp. 9, 10.

After giving a short but complimentary sketch of the most remarkable men whom he met in society, he describes his journey to Niagara, and dwells with warm admiration upon the evidence presented all along the line of the railroad from Albany to Buffalo, of the marvellous progress which this portion of the Empire State has made within a quarter of a century.

"I am aware that it is not the received opinion, but there is something both in the outward aspect of this region and the general state of society accompanying it, which to me seemed eminently poetical. What can be more striking or stirring, despite the occasional rudeness of the forms, than all this enterprise, energy, and life welling up in the desert? At the towns of Syracuse, of Auburn, and of Rochester, I experienced the sort of feeling which takes away one's breath; the process seemed actually going on before one's eyes, and one hardly knows whether to think it as grand as the Iliad, or as quaint as a harlequin farce. I will quote the words I wrote down at the time: —

"'The moment is not come for me yet, if it ever should come, to make me feel myself warranted in forming speculations upon far results, upon guaranties for future endurance and stability; all that I can now do is to look and to marvel at what is before my eyes. I do not think I am deficient in relish for antiquity and association; I know that I am English, not in a pigheaded adhesion to every thing there, but in heart to its last throb. Yet I cannot be unmoved or callous to the soarings of Young America, in such

legitimate and laudable directions too; and I feel that it is already not the least bright, and may be the most enduring title of my country to the homage of mankind, that she has produced such a people. May God employ them both for his own high glory!'

"I am bound here in candor to state that I think what I first saw in America was, with little exception, the best of its kind; such was the society of Boston — such was the energy of progress in the western portion of the State of New York."

pp. 17, 18.

From Niagara he passed to the city of New York, of which he thus gives his impressions.

"I thought this, the commercial and fashionable, though not the political, capital of the Union, a very brilliant city. To give the best idea of it, I should describe it as something of a fusion between Liverpool and Paris — crowded quays, long perspectives of vessels and masts, bustling streets, gay shops, tall white houses, and a clear brilliant sky overhead. There is an absence of solidity in the general appearance, but in some of the new buildings they are successfully availing themselves of their ample resources in white marble and granite. At the point of the Battery, where the long thoroughfare of Broadway, extending some miles, pushes its green fringe into the wide harbor of New York, with its glancing waters and graceful shipping, and the limber, long, raking masts, which look so different from our own, and the soft swelling outline of the receding shores; it has a special character and beauty of its own. I spent about a month here very pleasantly; the society appeared to me, on the whole, to have a less solid and really refined character than that of Boston, but there is more of animation, gayety, and sparkle in the daily life. In point of hospitality, neither could outdo the other." pp. 27, 28.

Continuing southward, he gives sketches of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, presenting in a few brief phrases the prominent features of each. He expresses his opinions regarding slavery with a manly and temperate frankness, which would probably not quite please the zealous opponents, or the zealous defenders, of the institution, and which may therefore be supposed to be rational and just. We find brief notices of the principal public men whom the lecturer saw at Washington, giving to each full measure of praise. Many comparisons have been made between the Halls of Congress and the House of Commons, in regard to the decorum, and good order of their proceedings. The Earl says the Commons are most noisy from their habits of cheering and

coughing, while the Representatives at Washington are most disorderly in speaking several at a time, and evincing a contemptuous disregard for the decisions of their speaker. Passing through Virginia and North Carolina to Charleston, he is much struck with the tokens of exhaustion and desertion left upon the region by slavery, and says, "In point of neatness, cleanliness, and order, the slave-holding States appeared to stand in about the same relation to the free, as Ireland does to England." Yet, in describing Charleston, he remarks with great good humor, —

"I am bound to say that I spent my time there very pleasantly; there was much gayety and unbounded hospitality. I have made no disguise of what my opinions upon slavery were, are, and ever must be; but it would be uncandid to deny that the planter in the Southern States has much more in his manner and mode of intercourse that resembles the English country gentleman than any other class of his countrymen; he is more easy, companionable, fond of country life, and out-of-door pursuits." pp. 51, 52.

After passing a few days amid the tropical luxuriance of Cuba, he went to New Orleans, of which the good he can say is chiefly confined to the St. Charles Hotel; and then traversed the western States in various directions, giving the palm on the whole to Ohio and Cincinnati, as the place he should choose for his home if he were going to fix his abode in this part of the Union. He then sums up his feelings and opinions in relation to the whole country.

The feature which strikes him as most obvious and most enviable in our social state is the almost entire absence of poverty, and the "gushing abundance" which characterizes the land. Then he speaks of the wonderful rapidity of growth, and the industrial progress that so rapidly changes a region of forest into one of cultivated fields and populous cities; of the splendor and cleanliness of our hotels, and the rapidity and ease with which we can traverse the country in every direction. He thinks we devote ourselves too much to money-getting, yet acknowledges that he found circles that could hardly be surpassed in the old world in refinement and cultivation. He says he traversed almost the whole extent of the Union without meeting a single instance either of servility or rudeness, meaning by the latter term intentional incivility. It is pleasant to find one who may be supposed

qualified to judge of such matters making this marked distinction; because it has been too much the fashion among our foreign guests, to censure mistakes arising from ignorance of conventional form, as though they were the result of vulgar and intentional discourtesy.

While admiring the systems of popular education, the towns bristling with churches, and the scrupulous observance of the Sabbath in the eastern and northern States, he is shocked by the licentiousness and profanity, such as he had never elsewhere known, which characterize manners and habits in the valley of the Mississippi. In our politics, he acknowledges we carry on the perpetually recurring elections without the riotous turbulence and overt bribery by which they are too often disgraced in his own country; but he speaks in the strongest terms of well-merited reprehension of the proscription carried by the new rulers, at each change of administration, into every department of the public service, "from the minister at a great foreign court, to the postmaster of some half-barbarous outpost, — thus tending to render those whose functions ought to withdraw them the most completely from party influences the most unscrupulous partisans;" and he thinks through universal suffrage we have failed to secure the most commanding ability, or the most signal merit, for the highest offices of the state. Slavery he esteems our capital danger, our mortal plague-spot; but candidly acknowledges the difficulties that lie in the way of its removal. Finally, he remarks, —

"Whatever may be the issue of the future destinies assigned to the great American Republic, it is impossible to have contemplated her extent, her resources, the race that has mainly peopled her, the institutions she has derived or originated, the liberty which has been their life-blood, the industry which has been their offspring, and the free gospel which has been published on her wide plains and wafted by her thousand streams, without nourishing the belief and the hope, that it is reserved for her to do much, in the coming generations, for the good of man and the glory of God." p. 85.

The volume of the Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley is as little like that of the Earl of Carlisle as possible. Superficial, careless, and good-natured, assuming to be only the "gossip of travel," avoiding any notice of topics of exciting interest

in relation to our institutions or manners, she skims over the United States, Mexico, Havana, Panama, etc., finding the Yankee everywhere, and always praising him; lingering with the joy of a bird over all that is beautiful in nature, never stopping to scold that where nature has done so much, art has done so little, and finding everybody obliging and civil, because she is so herself. She has given us a volume which is a picture of the author quite as much as of the subject, and which, if little instructive, is exceedingly entertaining. She seems to be one of the boldest and most determined of travellers, ignoring peril and discomfort, and by her success in all her wanderings, proving incontrovertibly that an "unprotected female" may sate her geographical curiosity, even in the wildest countries, without let or hinderance. Though superficial in the philosophy of travel, she is by no means commonplace in her observations of men and things. She writes in a free and easy, rollicking style, such as would hardly be thought feminine on this side of the water; but the old country allows its daughters more freedom in such matters than is given here. She says, that in describing the rapidity of our growth, and the wonders we have achieved in subduing nature to our will, she is forced to enlarge her vocabulary, by using words and phrases that we have invented; and, in truth, her style appears to have been inoculated with some of the rhetoric of our western States. She seems to be one of those who love travelling for its own sake; and we can hardly imagine her sitting down contentedly at home, feeling that she has seen all of the world that she wished. Evidently a nomad by nature, if not by birth, the roving tastes associated with the name of Wortley seem to be part and parcel of her being; albeit she bears it by marriage, and not by inheritance. The annoyances of travelling seem to make no impression on her mind, or if they do, she is careful to conceal it, and takes no advantage of the Englishman's privilege of grumbling. To her, every thing is *couleur de rose;* and we Yankees could hardly have failed to fall in love with ourselves, only from reading her description of us, had we not done so long since.

After some weeks passed in Massachusetts and New York, she exclaims: —

"The more I see of American society, the more I like it. In general, I should say, they are a peculiarly sensitive people, and

yet very forbearing and not easily offended. They are generally accused of being conceited. I can only say, as far as I have seen, their candor appears to be far more remarkable than their conceit. Indeed, I have perpetually found them volunteer remarks on what they consider defects in their manners and customs, with the greatest possible good-humor and ingenuousness. Nay, I have sometimes, in common honesty, found myself compelled to take their part against themselves. In travelling, their courtesy, their good-temper, their obligingness, their utter unselfishness are beyond all praise." p. 72.

Again, towards the close of her journey, after seeing him in every position from Boston to Panama, she says, —

"But such is the American: while he will affront with the utmost carelessness all kinds of hardships, dangers, and privations, and display under the most appalling circumstances the firmest presence of mind — as if, like Nelson in his boyhood, 'he had never seen fear,' and could not understand what it meant — his noble feelings will thrill at a tale of the sorrow of others, and his heroism fails him when some affecting incident appeals to his unselfish and generous sympathies. If the true hero-nature lives anywhere it is in the American: *if* the age of chivalry is *not* past — though Burke declared it was, in the Old World of Europe — if, in short, chivalry still exists on earth, it is in the great and mighty West. I think I see a satirical smile on the reader's lips, although so many thousands of miles divide us; and I know if I were in a London drawing-room, what a chorus would be raised of 'dollars and cents!' &c., but I boldly write what I most conscientiously believe: and how absurd it is to keep harping on one fault, (and it really seems almost their only one,) as if either a nation or an individual could be absolutely perfect!" p. 312.

We pause in wonder. This from a countrywoman of Hall, Trollope, and Hamilton! Have we been cruelly misrepresented by former writers, or have their castigations changed us from all that is coarse and degrading to all that is refined and chivalrous? Lest our vanity should be too much excited, we turn to a description given of a Yankee not long ago by M. Marmier: —

"Picture to yourself, if you please, a lean figure with bony wrists, feet of dimensions that would forever tarnish the scutcheon of a gentleman, a hat stuck upon the back of the head; straight hair; a cheek swollen, not by an accidental cold, but from morning till night by a lump of tobacco; lips stained yellow by the juice of the same plant; a black coat with narrow skirts, a tum-

bled shirt, the gloves of a *gensdarme*, trousers in harmony with the rest of the equipment, and you will have before you the exact portrait of a thorough-bred Yankee."

A countrywoman of this writer, Madame de Merlin, furnishes us with the following sketch of a New York theatrical audience: —

"The enthusiasm was immense; I thought myself at Rome, and had difficulty in recognizing the nation that talks by measure and walks by springs. But soon these men, with hat on head and coat off, lying down upon their seats, and who, after placing their heavy nailed shoes on the ground, carelessly seated their woollen-stockened feet on the back of their neighbors' chairs, reminded me that I was in the United States."

These extracts are taken almost at random from many passages like them, which characterize the work of each of these two representatives of *la belle France*. Which picture shall we accept as the true portrait? Accounts so contradictory can be harmonized only by the recollection of scenes we have witnessed in hotels and steamboats, where assumption, or ill-bred demands for service, are not infrequently met by insult or total neglect. A Yankee is very apt to give as he receives, and a well-bred traveller will very rarely meet with incivility. All persons are not Chesterfields here, any more than in other countries; but we utterly repudiate the idea, that to be an American is to be not a gentleman. We stand by the Lady Emmeline, in preference to all the French men or women in the world.

It is somewhat difficult to follow this lively writer through her wanderings, so as to give a correct idea of her book. The part of it which relates to the United States is much less interesting than that in which she describes places less familiar to us. As our newspapers so abound in letters from all parts of the Union, descriptive of almost every corner of its wide domain, as well as of our public men, there is little chance for presenting passages of mere description which will have much novelty or interest. Two or three short extracts will suffice to show the rather peculiar style adopted by her ladyship, and the kind of humor in which she indulges. She thus utters her feelings on coming out of the Mammoth Cave.

"As to the cave altogether, it is magnificent — that is, what

we saw of it; for many parts of it we did not see at all, which are already explored, and it is said people may go on exploring for three hundred miles or more; I should be sorry to try the experiment. After this under-ground jaunt — after this sort of temporary burial, I think one almost requires a dozen or so of balloon-ascensions to restore the equilibrium of one's feelings, and take away the subterraneousness of one's sensations, and ungrovelize one's self; — in short, to carry off a little of the superabundant earthliness that one feels has been acquired by walking below ground, where should be nothing but graves and gas-pipes, and cellars and worms, and Guy Fawkeses, and sorcerers, and mummies, and trains of gunpowder, and fossil ichthyosauruses.

"Stalactites and stalagmites are beautiful and interesting, but they seem to me to have a sort of magnetism of petrifaction about them, and to inoculate one with ossification. Glad was I when we wended our way from these mighty vaults, with their imitation stars and hobgoblin roses; we had to pass again by the same great hall by which we entered, under the living leathern canopy of the imminent bats, which almost grazed or stuck to our much-enduring bonnets as we passed — so low was the roof in some places." p. 97.

A little further on she says, —

"We are going to try and see a prairie. The Looking-glass Prairie, I fear, is too far off to attempt to go to in this cold, bleak, unpropitious weather; and I am much afraid there is none near enough; for civilization hereabouts walks with no mincing, graceful, dancing-master-like steps, but great, seven-league boots, and sprawling, earth-shaking strides, and goes swinging along at such a pace that it is all the horizon can do to get out of her way in time, and if once she caught it napping, it might go very hard with it.

"I shall not try to embark on the great Grass Sea to-day; besides, from what I hear of the extent to which inclosing has been carried on this year, I doubt much if even the Looking-Glass Prairie has escaped being framed in, and broken up into small pieces." p. 111.

Her description of the Mississippi is really fine and very just.

"I am now at New Orleans. We have had a most successful and enchanting tour, and our late voyage I found extremely interesting.

"I have been most agreeably disappointed with the Mississippi, which has, in general, the reputation of being monotonous and

wearisome from its usually flat banks, and long lines of almost interminable, dense, unvarying forests. I am, on the contrary, quite delighted with it, and watched and gazed on it, day after day and hour after hour, with ever newly-kindling interest and admiration. These very forests themselves were to me sources of ever fresh wonder; and the mighty current of that marvellous river, sweeping on like the flow of unpausing Time, carrying all before it, I thought sublimity itself.

"That the banks are flat for hundreds and hundreds of miles, I own; but those forests are so grand, so boundless — the breadth of that astounding river is so imposing — its bends and curves so glorious and beautiful — that I could not find it at all monotonous. And then its islands, creeks, bays, branches, and reaches, are so numerous and interesting, and its many magnificent tributaries are so diversified and so splendid, that it did not seem to me in the least degree wearisome or dull.

"Besides these, there is the busy hum of life at various places on the shores. The landing-places, wharves, the plantations, (toward the south,) the rising and risen villages and towns, the scattered huts of the wood-cutters, the long rows of slaves' habitations, (called 'quarters,') and all the openings — the clearings in the old mighty woods, where the settlers' cottages are cheerfully sending up their blue smoke to the sky, the germs, probably, of future mighty cities — and then those innumerable flat-boats and rafts with small hamlets of houses on them, some wearing the look of a little nautical village, and all kinds of strange craft, from the roughest and rudest, that almost look as if the 'snags' and 'sawyers' had determined to join company, and had linked themselves by some natural process together — to the magnificent steamer 'Autocrat' — one of those 'floating steam-palaces,' which look really like some of the wondrous fleeting creations one sees every now and then in the clouds. This 'Autocrat,' they say, is the largest steamer on the Mississippi, and is about four hundred feet long, and gorgeous as an enchanted castle inside. The one we came in to this place was nearly that length, and decorated with costly magnificence. And then there are the poor trees, twisting and twirling, and tossing about in the rapid stream, (sometimes roots uppermost,) which form the dreaded 'snags' and 'sawyers' of the Mississippi voyagers; and the countless flights of birds that frequently make the air alive with their myriads of hurrying wings, sometimes looking like the moving folds of gigantic serpents.

"How, then, can these stirring and wondrous scenes be insipid? They are certainly not; and I think any one who can find it monotonous and tiresome, (unless they had pictured to themselves a totally different scene, and expected a sort of exaggerated

Rhine, or magnified blue Guadalquivir,) must be somewhat devoid of heart, mind, and imagination, and especially the first time that one steams down it. I can imagine it might become a little tedious, a little wearisome or so, the one-and-twentieth voyage or thereabouts; but the first time! I cannot comprehend it. No! the first time it is all change, wonder, novelty, matter for speculation and food for reflection, an object of ceaseless interest, and of ever-recurring astonishment and admiration. We saw it under a vast variety of aspects and change of climate, and even seasons; and often did its whole appearance seem altered. The captain of one of the steamboats observed to me, the other day, that after long years spent in navigating that wondrous river, he could truly say he 'had never seen it in any two voyages alike.' There are so many different 'stages' of water — the banks are so perpetually changing, the sand-bars are so incessantly shifting their position, besides other alterations, that I could indeed readily believe him.

"I have seen it up in the northwest, amid snow, hail, ice, rain, and clouds, and storm, and in the burning sunshine of the south, and under its clear and unshadowed skies, by night and by day, in the gale and in the calm, flowing through its almost interminable mighty wilderness of forest in solitary grandeur, or watering a thousand teeming plantations with its turbid swelling waves, receiving its splendid tributaries, (the Ohio, Arkansas river, &c.) as if they were so many dew-drops, and sweeping on as if with a magnificent unconcern and disdainful indifference, apparently wholly unaltered and unaffected by these immense and majestic accessories to its might and greatness.

"The breadth of this ever-broad river is scarcely visibly changed, though the depth is of course very often greatly increased, as stream after stream rolls into its great waters. In the very absence of change here, is there not something sublime? In every way it is unlike every other river I ever saw, and appears to be a sort of molten flowing world in itself." pp. 113–115.

She thus pours forth her admiration for our people and country, after having surveyed the wonderful wealth of nature in the valley of the Father of Waters.

"One cannot but think what a wonderful place this same New Orleans will probably become in the future. It is calculated that the Great Valley of the Mississippi, now only containing, comparatively speaking, a mere handful of inhabitants, could easily sustain and comfortably accommodate one hundred and fifty millions of people. Now the population is about ten millions. What a future! what a country! and what a noble

people, to work out its grand destiny, and to fill up magnificently the magnificent designs of Nature. It is all petty malice and jealousy which make people talk of their exaggerated expressions and ideas. A man must have imagination indeed, must out-Shakspeare Shakspeare, the myriad-minded, and the very lord of imagination, to deal in hyperbolical extravagance here. What would be exaggeration in other countries is here the simplest moderation, and in all probability lags behind the reality. The fact is, they feel their destiny, and their country's destiny, and they would be stocks and stones if they did not; and if, in England, we are disposed to think they 'greatly daring' talk, we should remember a little what a prospect lies before them. Nature, their present, their future — all is in such an exaggerated mood here, all on such a stupendous scale! For them to have little views, and entertain trifling projects, or hold petty opinions, with regard to their mighty country's advancement and progress, would be as absurd as to see a party of giants in go-carts or in pinafores, and playing at 'Tom Thumb' and 'Goody Two Shoes.'" pp. 127, 128.

Her tour in Mexico is very interesting, though we think somewhat disfigured, by the half wild descriptions she gives of some of the rites of the ancient Mexicans. Things horrible seem, almost always, to present a ludicrous side to her imagination, and she generally speaks of them in a manner which is hardly within the limits of good taste. Setting this aside, her descriptions of every thing beautiful in nature, or picturesque in habits and costume, are vivid and often brilliant. The descent from Perote to Xalapa is, perhaps, as fine a specimen of her powers in this way as any we can select.

"Our descent was not at all a precipitous one at first; but after a time we journeyed along quite on the extreme brink and edge of the mountains, so that by leaning far out of the carriage, one could catch the sublimest views conceivable of all that intervened between their towering summits and the sea. The high mountain chain to the north of the pass turns eastward, and is continued on to the Gulf of Mexico, in parallel lines of ridges, on the heights of which the traveller's eye looks down; and that eye might also see confusedly, beautiful, wild, and solitary dells among the hills, and the sombre black region of lava and dwarfed and ragged pines, that he is leaving, and wilderness after wilderness of beauty that he is approaching nearer and nearer to; and from the crest of some of the hills looking to the south, the awful majesty of the Mountain of the Star, (Orizaba,) its dazzling brow crowned with unchangeable resplendence, till it

seemed to have a brighter daylight of its own. Let him look behind him, and see the white frost like a faint sprinkling from the snows of the Coffre, blanching the funereal foliage of the solemn branches of pine and the beds of gloomy lava; and let him look before him and mark the groves of oranges, the corn-fields, the gardens of roses, and the palm — daughter of the sun — and thrice ten thousand flowering and blooming trees! — *There* laughs a leaping brook, lustrous, fresh, and clear, as if all the roses had shed all their diamond dews to form its fairy stream, and it rolled, tinted and blushing with their reflections. And here a forest of labyrinthine bowers makes a warm and glowing darkness of flower-shadows, — zones after zones, regions after regions, expanse after expanse, are stretching at his feet.

"Not the world, but many worlds, seem to be outspread in boundless magnificence before us, for it is so seldom you think of the single earth, mingling in one transcendent unity — one conjunction of almost antagonizing elements and properties, all the diversities, all the conflicting extremes it possesses, that when you behold them thus displayed in one overpowering consummate burst of triumph, and in the most stupendous and imposing array, you seem entering on a new state of existence, on a fresh stage of being, and can hardly believe that these wonders, crowded, heaped, precipitated, and concentrated — (each separate beauty, each different display of grandeur, gaining so much by such juxtaposition — such surprising contrast, that each seems far more beautiful, and far more majestic) — can indeed be the same to which the eye, or the tutored thought, or the imagination has been accustomed. These varieties, so accumulated and agglomerated, seem to be new varieties; this creation, with all its choicest and selectest wonders and glories, so combined and united to each other, seems a vision of many creations, and the boundary — which, however, seems no boundary to all this gorgeous magnificence, but only a continuation, along which the dreaming, straining eye appears to travel into eternity — is the all-glorious, immeasurable ocean!

"With such a spectacle spread out before him does the traveller dash downward — only too fast — to beautiful Xalapa. Spring and summer seem flying on wings of the rainbow and the rose to greet him; and every odoriferously-breathing zephyr is an *avant-courier* of the floral delights that await him. Miles before you are whirled into the bowery, flowery, country-like town of Xalapa, you rejoice in the far-floating odors of its crowding orange groves; and what a scene enchants you: — Fields of living emerald and chrysoprase; woods bathed in the beauty of myriads of blossoms (the starry orange bowers emulating the snows of glittering Orizaba); lovely slopes, the most graceful,

picturesque hollows; and, built on the smiling brows of sunny hills, lordly-looking *haciendas*, with their white walls sparkling like spotless alabaster; and tangled mazes of vernal delights, and startling phenomena of vegetation; such as stems that seem bearing all the flowers of one zone together, so crossed and mingled are the blossomy treasures — (indeed in some places it seemed like solid masses of blooms.) And what fairy glens and gorges, and glittering hamlets, and sequestered homes, and half-ruined convents glimmering through many-colored thickets, and vailing streamers of a thousand-tendrilled blossoming vines; and tortuous paths, and silvery winding rills, and soft acclivities, seemingly intersecting and as it were overlapping each other, as if to conceal some more precious treasures of mystic beauty — if that were possible! And in some parts, afar off, something that almost looks like a pageant of gorgeous sunset clouds fallen to earth, and melting in multitudinous splendor — it is but a variegated heap of the all but endless growths of Nature in these regions, billowing over some rising grounds, swelling with softest undulations, while the whole resounds with the joyous notes of singing birds." pp. 241–243.

The graceful gayeties, the luxurious, flower-embowered mode of life at the Havana, find in Lady Wortley one who can adequately appreciate and feelingly describe them. The reader's fancy is thronged with images of beautiful women, crowned with flowers and clad in "diaphanous, dreamy" gossamer robes, spun by Arachne and colored by Iris, with fans fluttering like the wings of sylphides, reclining in gayly painted, open carriages, while, as they roll along through the streets the gallant cavaliers exclaim, "How beautiful!" and the lady bows her stag-like head, and graciously replies, *Gracias cabellero.* The streets are crowded with such carriages, double rows of trees on either side filling the air with the odors of their blossoms, fountains falling in copious showers into sculptured marble basins, military bands enlivening the scene with their harmonies, and all fanned by the soft breezes of a tropical sea. To read of such scenes, while we are writhing under the rigors of a northern winter, is enough to make one forswear home and hearth, air-tight stove and all, and rush away to the lands of perpetual warmth and flowers.

Moved by a desire to behold the waters of the Pacific, our adventurous traveller takes passage on board the Georgia, proceeds to Chagres, and crosses the Isthmus in the usual

way, — that is, by boating to Gorgona, and by mules thence to Panama. From her description of the route, one would suppose it to be a passage through paradise, rather than the difficult and dangerous way it has appeared to most travellers. The annoyances of the journey do peep out occasionally, in parenthesis, as it were; but her perceptions are so occupied by luxuriant trees, brilliant skies, butterflies, and flowers, that she has no eyes for rough roads, no fears for robbers, no skin for insects, and no muscles for fatigue. We give one fragment from this journey.

"We soon plunged again into the giant woods. And here I wish I could convey to the reader the faintest idea of their astonishing beauty, and of their peculiar characteristics; so gigantic, yet so wondrously delicate in detail; vast, colossal bowers hanging over other bowers festooned and twining together in twenty thousand wild romantic shapes, and with that gossamer net-work of light creepers flaunting here and quivering there, as if the rainbow spray of myriads of fountains had suddenly been arrested and hardened by magic into permanent forms. Then *such* trees! studies in themselves; some like vast columns of burnished silver, with the most smooth, brilliantly white bark you can imagine, and a dome-like top of magnificent foliage; others with glorious leaves, like great green stars, or rather three quarters of a star, shining like sculptured emeralds; then a majestic kind of wild cotton tree, (the silk cotton, I think,) with its beautiful product, hanging like feathery snow from it." p. 308.

Having arrived at Panama, she is taken ill with hay-asthma, and to cure it, runs down the coast as far as Lima; fearing, while thus unwell, to expose herself to the effects of the luxuriant vegetation of the Isthmus. She finds much to admire in this once favorite capital of the Spanish conquerors, though its former splendors are declining into ruin. After spending a few weeks there, she returns to Panama, and recrosses the Isthmus at the commencement of the rainy season. For the first time during all her wanderings in America, she now confesses herself so far overcome by physical discomfort, that she can no longer forget all else in her enjoyment of tropical scenery; and surely an exposure to the elements at such a time must be enough to tax the patience of the most enthusiastic lover of nature. Had she not complained here, she might have been accused of affectation. Half drowned, she reached Chagres at the end of

two days, and immediately crossed to Jamaica, where she takes leave of us without giving any description of that island.

In bidding her adieu, we will only add, that if writers on both sides the Atlantic would exhibit half as much good feeling as is shown in these volumes, there would soon be an end of the mutual jealousy and dislike that still govern the feelings of too many persons, both in England and the United States.

ART. X. — *Lectures on Political Economy.* By FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN, formerly Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford. London: John Chapman. 1851. 12mo. pp. 342.

THESE lectures were delivered, little more than a year ago, at the Ladies College in Bedford Square, London. The author of them is, we believe, a younger brother of the celebrated Mr. Newman, who was one of the leaders of the Tractarian movement at Oxford, and who has recently shown his fearlessness and consistency, if not his wisdom, by reconciling himself entirely to the Romish Church, and becoming one of its most ardent priests and advocates. Mr. F. W. Newman is quite as remarkable a man as his elder brother, and is likely to accept at last the same anodyne for his religious scruples and perplexities, though he will approach Rome from the opposite direction. At present, his restless spirit occupies that platform of transcendental or spiritual unbelief, which experience has shown to be only a stage of transition to implicit faith in the doctrines and pretensions of Romanism. He who is overwhelmed with doubts can find repose and freedom from anxiety only by acquiescing in the claims of a church which pretends to be infallible; and if he is sincere, if he is really troubled by the confused spectres of superstition and infidelity which his heated fancy and unhinged reason have grouped around him, this soothing shade he is sure to find at last. The road may be a long and devious one, but it terminates at St. Peter's. The writings of the

younger Newman thus far are only a painful record of his struggles with himself, — of his attempt to sift the doubts out of his own mind by sifting every thing positive out of Christianity, and resolving religion itself into an undefined aspiration and a myth. Their very titles are significant: — "Phases of Faith, or Passages from the History of my Creed;" and "The Soul, her Sorrows and her Aspirations, — an Essay towards a Natural History of the Soul, as the Basis of Theology." They indicate the extent of his wanderings, — that his faith or skepticism has already passed through many stages, — and that he has, as yet, wholly failed in his attempt to do without any external aid, to give up all help from revelation, and to found a religion only upon the indistinct, spontaneous promptings of his own feverish understanding. His "History of the Hebrew Monarchy" we have never seen; but its character may be inferred from the remark of a very friendly critic, that "the author has not the common superstitious reverence for the Bible." All his works are written with ability and earnestness enough to command attention and insure sympathy. But the interest which they inspire is altogether personal, like that of an autobiography; they contain nothing tangible or definite, in the way either of argument or exposition.

We are not surprised to find an author of this description lecturing to an audience of women; his own mind appears essentially feminine, in the predominance of the sensibilities and the imagination over the reason and the judgment. But it is somewhat remarkable that he should select for his topic the most practical of all the sciences, and one which requires for its successful elucidation the largest acquaintance with the course of trade and the active employments of life. Perhaps Mr. Newman sought the aid of political economy as an alterative, — a medicine which should restore the healthy tone of his mind by immersing it in the details of commerce and legislation, in the dry calculations of profit and loss, supply and demand. There would be reason in such a proceeding. We could confidently recommend to some of our own transcendental friends a course of tonics, which should begin by the vigorous study of Ricardo on the Bullion Report and De Quincey's Logic of Political Economy.

It is more likely, however, that Mr. Newman's interest in

the theme arises from its bearing upon the great problem of the social condition of England and Ireland, — a subject of painful interest, which forces itself upon the attention of every thinking man in the United Kingdom. The fearful inequality in the distribution of wealth in that country, where millions of the common people are lingering hopelessly on the very brink of starvation, while the colossal fortunes of a few give to the state a factitious aspect of splendor and prosperity, constitutes an evil which seems as irremediable as it is intolerable. It is natural, that the sympathies of a kind-hearted man should be excited by the widely spread and constantly increasing misery which he must contemplate, as soon as he examines the subject, and begins to take the measure of the destitution and woe which surround him. It is yet more natural, that he should become impatient of the dogmatism and narrowness of view which characterize the leading doctors of the science of political economy in England, who jabber about their theories of free trade, wages, population, and rent, but can draw no conclusions from them, applicable to the present crisis, except the doctrine of the fatalist, — that the misery of the bulk of the population is incurable, that it exists by the will of God rather than the fault of man, and, therefore, our only course is to leave the *dénouement* to time and Providence. The sole cause of the evil, according to them, is that the earth is over peopled; consequently, as they admit it is absurd to expect that individual sufferers will exercise moral restraint enough not to burden the community with more children, — nay, as it is certain that misery only makes men reckless, and causes the population to increase all the faster, — war, pestilence, famine, and emigration are the only remedies or alleviations of which the case admits.

Mr. Newman revolts from this conclusion, as every man must do whose heart is in the right place, if he be not a thoroughly trained disciple of Malthus and McCulloch. But he is not very successful in proposing a theory of his own, or in showing the fallacy in the reasoning of his opponents. Apparently he has but a superficial knowledge of economical science, and has hastily assumed the office of lecturing upon a subject which has but little connection with the studies to which his life has been devoted. But we honor him for his sympathy with the suffering classes of Great Britain and

Ireland, for his strenuous dissent from the doctrine that their suffering is inevitable, and for his manliness in daring to question the right of the landholders to inflict such an amount of misery upon their fellow beings, under the pretence that they are only exercising the sacred rights of property. As might be expected from the character of his theological speculations, Mr. Newman is a radical in political economy. He shrinks from no conclusion which is commended to him by the benevolence of his feelings, however shocking it may be to the prejudices of his countrymen, and however unable he may be to justify it to the understanding of his readers.

Thus, considering the feudal origin of all landed property in England, — that all the land was admitted to belong originally to the State, the immediate vassals of the crown, or the tenants *in capite*, holding it only on condition of rendering certain services and payments that may be considered as rent, which feudal burdens they subsequently shook off, artfully causing them to be exchanged for an excise on beer, — he boldly denies that the landholder, at the present day, has so absolute a title to his estate, as to justify him in driving all the tenantry away from it to starve or to emigrate, while the land itself is converted into sheepwalks, and thereby the total stock of food in the kingdom is diminished to the full extent of "the clearing." This view certainly appears a plausible one, when we remember that the dispossessed tenantry were originally the vassals of the great landholder in the same manner, and on the same terms, upon which the latter was a vassal of the crown, — both being still called *tenants* in the language of the law; but that the inferior tenants, far from being able to commute *their* feudal burdens into a tax bearing on a different class of the population, have not been able to retain their lands even on condition of paying the full original rent for them. They have subsided into the class of *tenants at will*, ground down by rackrents for a century or two, and at last expelled from the land altogether, to find their subsistence where they may. In view of the present relations between the English peasant and his employer, it is certainly a meaning fact, that the former originally held his cottage and garden on the same tenure by which the latter held his estate. It is also true, that in most countries on the Continent, where the feudal system existed

during the Middle Ages, the final abolition of that system redounded as much to the benefit of the peasantry as of the great landholders; both received an indefeasible title to the lands which they respectively occupied, on condition of paying a perpetual rent for them, or of giving a fixed sum in commutation of all future payments, and then holding the land in absolute property.

"As far as I am aware, to eject the population in mass is a very modern enormity. We think of it as peculiarly Irish; yet, nowhere, perhaps was it done more boldly, more causelessly, and more heartlessly, than from the Sutherland estates of Northern Scotland early in this century. Between the years 1811 and 1820, 15,000 persons were driven off the lands of the Marchioness of Stafford alone; all their villages were pulled down or burnt, and their fields turned into pasturage. A like process was carried on about the same time by seven or eight neighboring lords. The human inhabitants were thus ejected, in order that sheep might take their place; because some one had persuaded these great landholders that sheep *would pay better* than human beings!

"This is truly monstrous. It is probable that nothing so shocking could have been done, but for a juggling plea concerning the claims of Political Economy. It is defined as the science of Wealth: rightly. It will not confound itself with Politics: right again. It cannot undertake to define what things are, and what are not, private property: it *assumes* that Political Law regards the landlord as the landowner, and justifies him in emptying his estates at pleasure. Well: if so, it follows that the rules of mere Economy are no sufficient guide to the conduct of a moral being. If Statesmen, Parliaments, or Courts of Law have neglected to define and establish the rights of those who dwell on and cultivate the soil, the landlord cannot plead that neglect to justify his wrong. Grant that, as an Economist, I have no right to ask whether land is or is not private property; yet, as a politician or as a moralist, I may see that no lord of Sutherland ever could have morally, or ever ought to have legally, a greater right over his estates than the King or Queen had, to whom his ancestor originally did homage for them. A baron, in his highest plenitude of power, has rather less right over the soil, than the King from whom he derived his right: and a king of England might as well claim to drive all his subjects into the sea, as a baron to empty his estates. We read how William the Conqueror burnt villages and ejected the people by hundreds, in order to make a hunting ground for himself in the New Forest. This deed, which has been execrated by all who relate it, seemed an extreme of tyranny: yet our

Courts of Law and our Parliaments allow the same thing to be done by smaller tyrants; and the public sits by, and mourns to think that people deal so unkindly with *that which is their own!* Here is the fundamental error, the crude and monstrous assumption, that the land, which God has given to our nation, is or can be the private property of any one. It is a usurpation exactly similar to that of Slavery. The slavemaster calls himself slave-owner, and pleads that he has purchased the slave, and that the law has pronounced slaves to be chattels. We reply that the law is immoral and unjust, and that no one could sell what was not his own; and that no number of immoral sales can destroy the rights of man. All this equally applies to land. The land was *not* regarded as private property by our old law; it is not to this day treated by the law on the same footing as movables; and there are many other persons who have rights in a piece of land, besides him who gets rent from it. The lord of the manor has his dues, but this does not annihilate the claims of others. For land is not only a surface that pays rent, but a surface to live upon; and the law ought to have cared, and ought still to care, for those who need the land for life, as much as for those who have inherited or bought a title to certain fruits from it."

pp. 131–133.

This is bold language to be held at the present day by an educated and reflecting Englishman. It has an ill savor of agrarianism. Of course, it is wholly inapplicable here in America, where the feudal system never existed, and where land is consequently parcelled out, and transferred from hand to hand, in the same manner as movable property, care being merely taken that the record of the transaction shall be more complete, so as to obviate future disputes concerning the title. The policy of American law favors the distribution of landed property, while the policy of English law favors its aggregation. We are safe, then, from the operation of one great cause of the monstrous inequality of wealth, which is the great plague-spot in the social condition of England and Ireland. But there is another tendency of a similar character, — the gradual depreciation of wages, — which may produce as lamentable consequences in the United States as in Great Britain, if a remedy be not applied in time. At present, our institutions are preserved, and general content exists among the people, because no class in the community finds itself doomed to irretrievable penury, and not one individual is without the well-grounded hope of improving his condition,

and perhaps of rising even to the highest rank in the social scale. But let the rate of wages here be reduced to what English economists regard as their natural and necessary standard, — that is, to a bare sufficiency for subsistence from day to day, — and the class of laborers, who must always form the majority in any community, and who, with us, have also the control in politics, will not be satisfied without organic changes in the laws which will make a wreck at once of our political and social system. Our immunity thus far ought not to betray us into a blind confidence for the future. A few years have produced a marvellous alteration in our prospects, and the change has not been entirely for our advantage. The Atlantic has been bridged by steam, and the ties which connect us with Great Britain, and link our commercial and social well-being with hers, are strengthening every day. Ireland is depopulating itself upon our shores; and already the rate of increase from abroad is half as great as that of the natural growth of the population at home. The number of immigrants now annually landed in our seaports, or brought to our inland frontier, exceeds 350,000, though, six years ago, it was little over one third of that sum. Should this foreign influx continue to increase in so high a ratio, vast as our capacities are for employing labor, a few years must cause a marked diminution of the rate of wages. In one particular, this result is inevitable; we might as well try to dam up the Mississippi with bulrushes, as to stop this great westward migration of the nations. But we may enlarge the field of employment, and increase the number of the applications of industry, so that this immense influx shall not produce its full effect in depressing the price of labor.

The fatal year 1847, a year of terrible famine in Ireland, and of great distress in several other parts of Europe, first turned the tide of emigration with overwhelming force upon this country. In some remarks upon the calamitous state of Great Britain at that period, we observed that "the fate of the Irish and Scotch appears the more terrible, because they have starved in the midst of plenty;" and that "the present year has witnessed a frightful anomaly, which will long be remembered as a disgrace to modern civilization, — a famine of which poverty was almost the sole cause." The census of the United Kingdom which was taken last March, besides

furnishing indubitable evidence of the extent of the calamity endured in 1847, has brought to light another startling fact, equally unparalleled in the history of the world; — a great country, inhabited by a part of the wealthiest and most civilized nation on the earth, enjoying a mild and equitable government, and yet, without the agency of war, pestilence, or any sudden paralysis of its industry from external causes, actually becoming depopulated from moral causes alone. It is difficult to bring home to the consciousness the full extent and awful character of this phenomenon. Figures, the accuracy of which cannot be doubted for a moment, furnish complete evidence of the fact, and give us its precise dimensions; but they lend no aid to the imagination in picturing forth its causes and character. Let us first attend to them, however, that we may gain precise notions on the subject.

The population of Ireland in 1841 was 8,175,124; the rate of increase for the ten years immediately preceding had been only five per cent. But during this period, the causes had already begun to operate which, in the succeeding decade, had so marked an effect in thinning the population. From 1820 to 1830, the rate of increase was fourteen per cent., which is the measure of the decennial growth of the population in England and Scotland. There is reason to believe that the Irish tend to multiply faster than the English and the Scotch; that is, that the births among them are proportionally more numerous. But we shall be safe in taking fourteen per cent. as the natural measure of their increase in ten years, if their numbers were not diminished by famine or emigration. Adding this proportion to the Irish population in 1841, we have 9,319,641 for what their number would have been in 1851, if it had not been diminished by the two causes just mentioned. But the actual population of Ireland in 1851 was only 6,515,794; that is, 1,659,330 less than it was ten years before, and nearly three millions less than what it should have been, if the natural law of increase had not been checked.

What has become of these three millions of human beings? The returns by the Commissioners of the total emigration from the United Kingdom for the ten years ending in March, 1851, show that only 1,741,476 emigrated during this period. This includes the drain from England and Scotland also; but

it is probable that nearly as many Irish passed over into the sister island as would make up for the number of natives who left it to go abroad. And yet there remain over a million of the Irish to be accounted for, — an immense loss of population to be attributed to famine and the diseases which are consequent upon extreme misery and want. And the drain still continues; a panic seems to have seized the population of Ireland, and they rush to the seaports to embark for any other portion of the earth, as if the whole island labored under a curse. And who shall say that such an apprehension is unfounded? It is little that all history affords no parallel to such a depopulation of a great country in a time of profound peace, when heaven had not sent one of its awful messengers to scourge the people for their sins. What war, what pestilence, what single calamity recorded in the annals of the world, has counted its victims by millions in the space of ten short years? Not even in the track of desolation which such conquerors as Genseric, Alaric, and Attila left behind them did the corpses lie so thickly together, or so great a consternation freeze the hearts of the people.

Of course, the depopulation is greatest in those portions of Ireland where the pressure of famine was most severe. In the north and east, Ulster and Leinster were *comparatively* prosperous; they did not suffer much more than the most destitute portions of England and Scotland in the year of famine; and in them, we find that the population has not diminished more than fifteen or sixteen per cent. But in the south and west, in Munster, where the destitution is great, and in Connaught, the sink of Irish misery and degradation, the rates are respectively twenty-three and twenty-eight per cent.; that is, one fourth of the people have perished or emigrated. Among the counties, Roscommon is that portion of Connaught which lies nearest to Dublin, a great port of embarkation, with which it is partly connected by a railroad, so that it has great facilities for emigration; and here, accordingly, we find the loss is greatest, amounting to thirty-one per cent. In other words, within ten years, (in fact, within half that time, for the calamity first reached its crisis in 1846,) nearly one third of the population have perished by fever or starvation, or have emigrated. When speaking of the bloodiest, and perhaps the most eventful, battle for the

destinies of Europe that was ever fought, — that of Tours, — Gibbon remarks, with one of his incredulous sneers, "the monks of Italy could affirm and believe that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and seventy-five, thousand of the Mahometans had been crushed by the hammer of Charles." Yet is it certain, that in two short years, a larger number than this of the Irish people have actually died of starvation, or the diseases incident to want of food and all the other necessaries of life; the victims of 1847 alone are seldom reckoned at less than three hundred thousand.

We do not dwell upon these astounding facts merely because they afford a spectacle and a problem which may well claim the attention of the whole civilized world. They have a peculiar meaning and pertinency for us here in the United States; they must affect our future prosperity, whether for good or ill, far more even than that of Great Britain. It is to our shores, not to those of England and Scotland, that this great Irish exodus is directed. These exiles are coming to us, mostly in a state of utter destitution, bringing with them Irish habits, and Irish willingness to live in squalor upon the meanest pittance that will support life. Cheapness of provisions is not the attraction that brings them here; at this moment, *all the common articles of provisions are as cheap in Ireland as in the Atlantic States of this Union; many of them are cheaper.* Nor is it comparative freedom from taxation which they seek; for the annual amount of Irish taxes is only about ten shillings a head, which hardly exceeds the burden of government here in America. But they come in quest of constant employment and higher wages. *These* are the tangible tokens of our prosperity, the causes of the general well-being of our people; and these have made the United States a harbor of refuge for the poor of the civilized world. If our superiority in these respects should be done away, if employment should become difficult to be had, and the wages both of rude and skilled labor should fall to the English standard, not all the advantages of our popular form of government, or of the cheapness of land in the far West, would attract a tithe of the body of immigrants who now annually throng our shores.

We come, then, to a question which all must admit to be of transcendent importance. *Is this immense immigration, in*

conjunction with other causes, likely to effect a general and great depression in the price of labor in the United States? Besides the natural rapid growth of our population, an annual addition to our numbers of over 300,000 immigrants, all of them, except an insignificant fraction, being of the poorest class, cannot but produce a marked effect of some kind, even if the field for the employment of industry here were widening under the most favorable circumstances. Two thirds of the exiles are Irish, who have been accustomed to regard six shillings ($1.50) a week as liberal wages for the father of a family, even when they could get employment only for half of the time. If the agriculture and manufactures of this country were in a flourishing condition, if their enlargement kept pace with the rapid increase of our native population, this great addition of such materials to our working power could hardly fail to depress the price of labor.

But they are not flourishing. An alteration of the tariff in 1846, which was virtually an abandonment of the protective principle, has paralyzed the chief branches of manufactures, and has brought down the price of breadstuffs and other provisions to a point which gives the farmer no temptation to raise more of them than are necessary for home consumption. The inducement or the pretence for this alteration was, that as England had just abandoned her corn-law policy, she would purchase a much larger amount of our agricultural products, if we would allow a free ingress to her manufactures, to be given in exchange for them. We might have replied that, during those disastrous years of famine, England could not avoid purchasing provisions at any rate; and if we would not receive full pay for them in her own manufactured goods, she would have been obliged to purchase for us, from other nations, whatever foreign articles we might require. We *did* receive the benefit of the increased English demand for our breadstuffs, in a slightly diminished price of manufactured goods in this country; and we paid for it by the vast diminution of our own manufacturing operations. We *might* have received the benefit of it in the diminished price of tea, coffee, silks, and tropical products which we must always import, without surrendering any branch of our national industry in exchange. For as foreign trade, in the long run, is always and necessarily a barter of articles exported for articles imported, we *must* reap

the advantage of an increased demand for our exports by receiving our imports at a lower price. Foreigners cannot induce us to take more of their products, except they enlarge our demand for them by offering them at a better bargain. In this respect, it matters not whether the price of fine cottons and broadcloths, or of tea, coffee, and silks, be diminished; for the aggregate *amount* of the diminution must be the same in either case. It must be just enough to pay for the greater quantity of our exports which are needed abroad.

But in another respect, it matters a great deal. If we choose to reap the advantage in the price of cottons and broadcloths, our own manufactures of those articles must be depressed, and either the wages of labor must be lowered, or the field for the employment of labor must be contracted. Still farther, — if we choose to enlarge our market for British manufactures by striking off the duties upon the importation of them, England can pay for her increased demand for our products without affording us the benefit of a diminution of price in any thing; and our own manufactures will be ruined into the bargain. Again, if the British increased demand for our products be only temporary, — as a consequence of a temporary failure of her harvests, and if it therefore ceases when her fields again become productive, or the potato rot has disappeared, — then, our own industry having been curtailed, and the country being consequently kept in want of an enlarged supply of manufactures from abroad, we must pay for that enlarged quantity by furnishing our own products to foreigners at a diminished price.

All these conclusions may be verified by the experience of the last five years in this country, which are, indeed, rich in instruction. In the year ending in June, 1847, we exported provisions and breadstuffs to the amount of sixty-eight millions of dollars, the demand being created for this large supply by the potato rot in Ireland, and by the partial failure of the crops in England. The articles commanded a good price also, flour having risen in the course of the year to ten dollars a barrel, though it did not long maintain that elevation. To favor this increase of the English demand as much as possible, the tariff was altered, and the duties on imports were greatly diminished. But our exports of provisions and breadstuffs fell off, the next year, nearly one half, the amount being only

thirty-seven millions; and the prices of them were lessened nearly in the same proportion. In the year ending in June, 1850, the amount of these exports was but twenty-six millions; and in 1851, it was little over twenty-four millions. During these two years, also, the average price of flour in our Atlantic seaports has been about five dollars a barrel, a price at which the farmers of the West cannot afford to export it at all, except for the purpose of relieving a glutted market by a sacrifice. The export of another of our great staples, tobacco, has fallen off nearly $700,000 since 1850. We shall speak hereafter of the effect of the altered tariff on our manufacturing establishments. But thus far, it is evident that free trade has brought no gain, but a heavy loss, to our agricultural interests. Let us see what effect it has had on the sale of British manufactures.

For the year ending in June, 1846, (before the alteration of the tariff,) our imports of the manufactures of wool amounted to twelve millions, of cotton to seventeen millions, and of iron to eight millions. But in the year ending last June, these imports had risen respectively to seventeen millions, twenty millions, and sixteen millions, being an addition on the whole of forty-three per cent. In order to pay for these extravagant importations, we have been obliged to sell our agricultural products at the reduced price just mentioned, and to export during the last year twenty-nine millions of California gold besides. Our total imports, the last year, amounted to two hundred and ten millions, not including five millions of specie; in 1846, they were only one hundred and twenty-one millions. Our domestic exports, the last year, excluding the specie, were but one hundred and seventy-eight millions.

We can now look at the manner in which our domestic manufactures have been affected by the partial abandonment of the protective policy. The statistics have been fully collected only in the case of the iron manufacture in Pennsylvania. We quote from a summary of the evidence given in the Merchants' Magazine for November last, in which the details are given with considerable minuteness, all the iron-works in the State being mentioned by name, and an exact history of each presented for the last five years. So great are the natural capabilities of Pennsylvania for this species of manufacture, that in three counties alone, — Armstrong, Clarion,

and Venango, — the number of ironworks was increased, in the five years preceding 1847, from twenty-two to sixty-nine, or about three hundred and fourteen per cent. But the tariff of 1846 brought a disastrous change.

The whole number of blast furnaces in the State, for the production of iron from the ore, is 304; they are capable of making 550,000 tons annually. They actually made 389,000 tons in 1847, before the effects of the new tariff had begun to be sensibly felt. But on the 1st of November, 1850, 167 of these furnaces, or fifty-six per cent., were out of blast; and the iron made by the remainder was but 198,000 tons, being a diminution of forty-nine per cent. in three years. Fifteen furnaces were sold by the sheriff in the first four months of the year; the fires in twenty-three of them were put out between the 1st of May and the 1st of November, showing a diminution of seven and a half per cent. in six months.

The whole number of forges and rolling mills, for the conversion of cast into wrought iron, is 200, capable of making 224,000 tons annually. They did make 203,000 tons in 1847, while in 1849, the product was but 138,000; showing a diminution of 65,000 tons, or about thirty-three per cent. in two years. "In Eastern Pennsylvania, the manufacture of all descriptions of iron that come in competition with the English is extinct, all the markets accessible from the sea or the Lakes being entirely supplied with the foreign article." The cost of transportation to less accessible regions gives the manufacturer in their immediate vicinity a small measure of protection; and thus a little railroad iron is still made for the interior. The works in the State are capable of producing 64,000 tons of rails annually; in 1849, they manufactured less than 19,000 tons, or less than half of their actual product two years earlier. To the suggestion that these unfortunate results may possibly be attributable to overtrading, and not to the tariff of 1846, the conclusive answer may be made, that in the year when the production of Pennsylvania iron was the greatest, the country imported over 50,000 tons of pig and bar iron, exclusive of chains, wrought iron, hardware, &c. A manufacture cannot be deemed excessive which is insufficient to supply the home market.

The capital invested in the lands, buildings, and machinery of the 504 iron works in Pennsylvania exceeds twenty mil-

lions of dollars; and the number of persons directly employed in them, if they were all in operation, would be 30,103. But these amounts do not include the capital and the men employed in mining and transporting coal and ore to the works, the iron-masters usually purchasing both these articles at their own doors; or those who are engaged in transporting the finished iron to market. A careful computation of the number of men thus employed gives a total of 11,513, to be added to the number above stated; thus making a grand total of 41,616 men, dependent on the iron business in Pennsylvania alone. It is a safe estimate that this State produces one half of all the iron manufactured in the United States; and as the statistics now given leave no doubt that at least one half of the workmen formerly engaged in making iron have been dismissed, it is certain that the tariff of 1846 has thrown out of employment over 40,000 laborers in this business alone.

We have no means of ascertaining precisely the effect produced on the manufactures of cotton and wool; indeed, the statistics of these branches of industry could not be collected, in a form available for the discussion of this subject, without great labor and difficulty. In Massachusetts alone, they gave employment to about 30,000 persons in 1845; and taking the whole country together, it is probable that four times as many operatives are engaged in them as in the iron business. They have not been so much affected by the withdrawal of protection, for comparatively few establishments have been abandoned, or have wholly ceased work. One reason why they have continued in operation is, that the mills are mostly owned by joint stock companies of large capital, who, though they yield no profits, and even incur heavy losses, are able to keep them in activity for several years, hoping that a change of policy or of circumstances may again render them lucrative. If one company makes a failure while engaged in this struggle, another one succeeds, which, having obtained the real estate and machinery at a price far below their original cost, is enabled to wait longer for a turn of the tide. But this state of things cannot continue for an indefinite period. A few more years, such as have elapsed since 1847, would bring many to bankruptcy, and discharge crowds of workmen to seek employment elsewhere.

It is not enough for the peculiar situation in which the people of this country are now placed, that the great departments of industry should be able merely to sustain themselves, by a great effort, at the point which they had reached five years ago. They must be developed and multiplied at a rate proportioned at least to the rapid growth of our population both from native and foreign sources. Otherwise, the profits of capital and the wages of labor must sink to the level at which they have long rested in Great Britain. The inevitable consequence of free trade and constantly increasing commercial intercourse between the two countries must be, to establish among the inhabitants of both of them the same standard of material well-being, the same measure and distribution of individual prosperity. Great Britain is now pouring upon us in a full tide the surplus both of her population and the products of her overtasked manufacturing industry. She is giving us more mouths to feed at the moment when she is taking away from us the means of feeding them in any other way than by forcing them into agricultural industry, and thus cheapening still farther the agricultural products which alone she can receive from us in exchange. The ocean, which once separated us, steam has contracted to a span. For all purposes of free intercourse, we are now virtually two contiguous countries, separated by no mountain barriers, by no differences of race, language, or polity, by no fundamental dissimilarity of our political institutions, and governed by the same system of municipal law. We are rapidly becoming as much one people as the English and the Irish, or the English and the Scotch. To expect that, in two countries thus situated, without any special direction of public policy towards maintaining some barrier between them, the pressure of population, the profits of capital, and the wages of labor can long remain very unequal, would be as idle as to believe that, without the erection of a dam, water could be maintained at two different levels in the same pond. Throw down the little that remains of our protective system, and let the emigration from Great Britain and Ireland to our shores increase to half a million annually, and within the lifetime of the present generation, the laborer's hire in our Atlantic States will be as low as it is in England. Our manufactures would flourish then, as

those of Great Britain flourish now; cheap labor is the only requisite for placing them upon the same level. It is not, then, for the sake of the capital now embarked in our manufacturing enterprises, that we would advocate a return to what has been well denominated "the American policy." But that the bulk of our laboring population should fall into that condition where they would be exposed to such evils as have visited the laboring classes of Great Britain and Ireland during the last ten years, — that the *necessary* standard of wages, as the English economists call it, should be here, as well as there, the smallest sum which will give a mere subsistence, — this, we should regard as the greatest calamity which the folly of men or the wrath of heaven could bring upon the land.

We have an illustration, in the case of unhappy Ireland herself, of the inevitable consequences of free trade with a country having so vast an aggregate of capital as Great Britain, and reaping the fruits also of the skill and experience acquired during a strict enforcement of the protective policy for two centuries. The legislative union of the two countries, at the beginning of the present century, broke down the few barriers which formerly limited their intercourse, and left them to compete on what the English economists consider as equal terms. Till this epoch, whatever political evils Ireland may have endured, her social state was not in any marked degree inferior to that of England. The habits of her people, it is true, were not so neat and industrious; but wages were not reduced to a starvation limit, and her cottiers generally had enough to eat and to spare. But unrestricted intercourse with England stifled the small beginnings of her manufacturing industry; for her people could purchase from the sister country even all the products of the small mechanic trades and arts cheaper than they could manufacture them for themselves. They bought in the cheapest market, forgetting that they had nothing but pigs, potatoes, and butter to offer in exchange; and that the production of these articles would not afford employment for half the industry of the people. Manufactures could never gain a foothold among them, save in the north, where a colony of canny Scotch introduced the culture of flax, made linen, and have ever since kept themselves out of the abyss of poverty into which the rest of the

island was plunged. So feeble were the means of the native Irish for keeping up trade by exportation, that their consumption both of domestic and foreign goods dwindled almost to nothing. Mr. Martin, one of the latest and ablest statistical writers upon Irish affairs, cannot suppress his astonishment, that "the consumption of British manufactures in Ireland is not more than one guinea *per annum* for each inhabitant, whereas the negroes in the West Indies consume each five pounds' worth a year, and their fellow subjects in Australia each to the extent of fifteen pounds' worth annually." But the reason is obvious enough; the negroes in the West Indies have sufficient employment for their industry in the production of sugar, coffee, and pimento, in regard to which they are not exposed to transatlantic competition. Having enough to sell, they are consequently able and willing to buy. But the Irish have nothing to sell, except the provisions which they must take from the mouths of their children. So they have gone on, constantly exporting a larger share of their pigs, potatoes, and butter, till they have at last ceased to preserve any to satisfy their own hunger. "The most remarkable thing," says Mr. Martin, "is, that even during the recent famine, there were large exports of provisions from Ireland." The returns are given of the exports by steam vessels, for the first ten months of 1847, from only three ports in the south of Ireland, where the effects of the famine were most severely felt; they show that 73,389 cattle, 43,143 pigs, and 26,599 crates of eggs were sent to England during this fearful period, when the people were daily perishing of hunger, and when three millions of them, out of a population of eight millions, were fed on public charity. If these are the consequences of free trade with England, and exclusive devotion to agricultural pursuits, we may well call for the restoration of a protective policy here in the United States.

But we must not wholly lose sight of Mr. Newman, whose work, indeed, suggests so many more questions than it satisfactorily answers, that it tempts one to make long digressions. We honor him for his sympathy with the laboring classes of England in the abyss of want and misery into which they have fallen; and for his manly dissent from those doctrines of the English school of political economy, which represent

their misery either as a dispensation from heaven, or as the consequence of their own folly and imprudence, — doctrines as repugnant to the feelings, as they are inconsistent with sound reason or the facts in the case. But he fails to discern all the causes, or even the chief cause, of the frightful inequality in the distribution of wealth which is the source and explanation of the whole evil; and by advocating the doctrine of free trade without any limitations or exceptions, though he thereby certainly pleads the cause of the English poor, whose condition free trade would tend to equalize with that of the laboring classes in other lands, he points to a remedy which we are not willing to accept, inasmuch as it would depress the wages of industry with us in precisely the same proportion in which it would elevate them in Great Britain. As Americans, we have given our reasons for dissenting from him in this respect, just as, if we had been Englishmen, or had been arguing in the interest of England, we should cordially agree with him. It is quite enough for us, to relieve Great Britain and Ireland annually of the burden of maintaining 300,000 of their suffering poor, without consenting to lend our aid also in raising the price of labor there by depressing it in this country in the same proportion.

Mr. Newman points out the evil of the undue aggregation of landed property, but fails to see, or to acknowledge, that it is the long operation of the laws of primogeniture and entail which has massed together all property, whether real or personal, and so has condemned those who were not born to the possession of it to a hopeless, life-long struggle with poverty; — which has made the greater part of the laboring class that helpless burden upon the state, which, by encouraging emigration and free trade, England now seeks to shake off upon other countries. Mr. Newman moreover repudiates the theories of Malthus and Ricardo; yet with so imperfect an appreciation of their character and tendency, and of the considerations which make against them, as to lead one to doubt whether he understands the doctrines against which he argues. Thus, he seems to imagine that Ricardo's positions relate exclusively to the cultivation of wheat; and that, when it is shown that land is devoted to many other purposes than this single species of husbandry, the whole theory of rent falls to the ground. This is a radical misapprehension of a doc-

trine which it was essential for his purpose to understand and confute. The theory of rent being intimately connected, as will soon appear, with the topics which we have been discussing, we shall once more bid Mr. Newman adieu, and devote what remains of this article to a full consideration of it.

The entire science of *English* political economy may be said to be built upon three leading theories; — that of Adam Smith concerning free trade, that of Malthus in regard to population, and that of Ricardo in regard to rent. They are intimately connected with each other; and a full appreciation of the mixture of truth and falsehood which they contain would tend to clear the science of its local, English character, and to fit it for universal acceptance and utility. Having considered the two former on previous occasions, we may now put them aside.

The permanent or average value of every thing not limited in quantity depends on the cost of its production, or on the amount of labor required to produce it. But the cost of producing some commodities cannot always be reduced to the same uniform standard; a few persons may enjoy certain facilities, some peculiar implements or patented machinery, *which other persons cannot obtain*, and by the aid of which they can produce the article at less cost, or with a smaller amount of labor. They cannot, however, thus produce enough to satisfy the whole demand; and therefore other persons must produce some at the expense of more labor. In such a case, the price of the commodity will be determined by the cost of *that portion which is produced with the greatest difficulty;* for, unless the price indemnified *these* producers, they would give up the business, and the necessary amount of the article could no longer be had. But the price having risen to this point, the persons producing the article more easily, by the aid of the machine or implements of which they have a monopoly, would receive an extraordinary profit. This whole extra profit may be called *rent*, a phrase which obviously includes the profits of a patentee of a useful machine, as well as those of a landholder.

The produce of land, according to Ricardo's theory, is obtained under circumstances precisely analogous to those here supposed. The supply of grain or cattle may be

indefinitely increased, by employing more capital and labor; but it cannot always be increased *in the same proportion* to the capital and labor expended. In the manufacture of cottons, woolens, and silks, double the capital, and you will usually double the amount produced. But in agriculture, this is not the case. The most eligible land is first taken up, — either that which is most fertile, or that which is nearest to market, or both. We will call this portion *land of the first class.* For a while, this produces enough to satisfy the demand. But the population increases, more grain is called for, and as there is no more land of the first class to be had, the producers are obliged to take *land of the second class,* either that which is less fertile, or farther from market, or both; the demand having previously outrun the supply, the price has risen enough to remunerate them for employing capital and labor on this less promising soil. For a while, this additional supply suffices; but then population again advances, the demand for food is increased, the price rises again, and, as a necessary consequence, *land of the third class* is brought into cultivation. And so on, indefinitely. At each step, there is a necessary enhancement of price, and therefore of profit, to those who work the land of higher quality, or of more easy access. The price of the grain and cattle which are brought to market must always be high enough to pay those who work the poorest land in use; otherwise, they would quit the employment, and the land would fall out of cultivation. But this price, of course, will give a larger profit to those who hold the land of the next higher class; and a still larger one to the owners of land of the first class. And as still inferior lands come into use, these profits must become yet larger. The result is, that the amount of rent for land must always depend on the degree of superiority of that land over the least fertile, or least eligible, ground which is cultivated at all.

By the original constitution of nature, land is of various degrees of productiveness. One acre, with a certain quantity of labor bestowed upon it, will yield forty bushels of wheat; another acre, with the same amount of labor, will yield but thirty bushels; a third acre, still requiring the same labor, gives but twenty bushels. Now, suppose that these three acres of land constituted the whole stock of a family of

persons living upon an island of this extent, and wholly cut off from intercourse with the rest of the world, by the intervention of a wide waste of ocean, and by their lack of ships or boats. If this family consisted of but five persons, we may suppose that one acre would furnish them grain enough, and, of course, they would choose the most productive land. There being land of this quality enough for all, no portion of it would yield any rent. But if three persons should be added to their number, there would be a necessity of cultivating the next best acre of land; and to the persons undertaking to cultivate it, it would evidently amount to the same thing whether they took the land yielding but thirty bushels to the acre, or paid a rent, equal in value to ten bushels of grain, for the land producing forty bushels to the acre. The increase of population, then, rendering it necessary to have recourse to land of inferior fertility, would cause land of the first class to pay rent; and this rent would be exactly proportioned to its degree of superiority over the worst land in cultivation, which yields no rent. A farther accession of three individuals would oblige the community to till the third acre, which yields but twenty bushels; and one might have his choice between having this land without rent, or paying ten bushels a year for land of the next best quality, or twenty bushels a year for the most fertile spot. The result in either case would be the same to him. Always the worst land in cultivation pays no rent; and all other land pays rent in proportion to the degree of its superiority over this poorest land.

Natural fertility is but one of the circumstances that give value to land, or cause it to pay rent; nearness to market, or any other natural quality, operates in precisely the same way. If all the land produces the same quantity to the acre, and if the produce of one acre can be sold on the spot, while it costs the value of ten bushels of grain to carry the produce of the second acre to market, and of twenty bushels to transport that of the third acre, then the first acre will bear a rent of twenty bushels, the second a rent of ten bushels, and the third no rent at all, because it produces but twenty bushels, and the value of this product is all consumed in transporting it to market. The increased demand of towns, occasioned by the increase of their population, not only tempts the cul-

tivators in their vicinity to improve their lands more highly, but frequently causes large portions of their supplies to be brought from a great distance. Hence it sometimes happens, that the advantage of vicinity more than counterbalances the disadvantage of comparative barrenness, so that lands of inferior fertility, in the immediate environs of a large town, yield a considerable rent, while much richer land, at a distance from good markets, yields little or perhaps no rent. As vicinity to a town is a cause of rent, so vicinity to a road, navigable river, or canal, by diminishing the expense of carriage to some great market, may have a similar effect.

Observe, also, that the theory still holds good, whether the increase of population constrains us to take poorer land, hitherto neglected, into cultivation, or to expend more capital and labor upon the land already in tillage, with a view of increasing its product. For the additional capital thus invested will not yield a return proportionally great with that capital which was first employed. If, for instance, a thousand dollars of capital spent upon a farm will cause it to yield at the rate of thirty bushels to the acre, the expenditure of a second thousand dollars upon it may raise the crop, perhaps, to forty bushels per acre; but it certainly will not double the crop, or make the yield to be sixty bushels, as it ought to do, if the second application of capital were equally remunerative with the first. Then the second application of capital will not be made till the increase of population has caused the price of grain to rise so high, that this second thousand dollars will produce as large profits as capital applied in other ways. And when this second thousand dollars will yield ordinary profits, it is obvious that the first thousand dollars, applied under circumstances much more advantageous, will yield much more than the ordinary profits. The difference between these two rates of profit is the rent of the land. Thus, always, just as there are more mouths calling for more food, either poorer land must be taken into cultivation, or more capital must be applied with perpetually diminishing returns, or at rates of profit growing successively less and less.

This is a brief, but, we hope, sufficiently clear and fair, exposition of Ricardo's celebrated theory of rent. We call it Ricardo's theory, though aware that it was first promulgated

by Dr. Anderson, of Scotland, as early as 1777. It then attracted hardly any notice, and was subsequently forgotten. It was afterwards rediscovered, almost simultaneously, by Sir Edward West, Mr. Ricardo, and Mr. Malthus. The latter was certainly put upon the track of it by his own theory of population, of which it is an obvious complement. As it might be objected to the Malthusian doctrine, that the danger which it contemplated was prospective and distant, the world certainly not being over-populated *as yet* in all its parts, this theory of rent comes in to fill up the deficiency in our heritage of woe, and to prove that the increase of population, to which the human race is always tending, is *always* an evil, — that for every new life which is created, some new restraint, privation, or loss is imposed upon those already in being. 'Granted,' these prophets of evil may exclaim, 'that there is not as yet any absolute deficiency of food; yet every birth tends to raise the price of the stock of sustenance which we have, because it obliges us to cultivate still poorer land, and to apply labor and capital with constantly diminishing returns, — or to work at smaller wages, and apply capital at smaller profits.' Mr. Mill states the legitimate inference from these two theories of Malthus and Ricardo clearly and strongly, when he says, that "a greater number of people cannot, in any given state of civilization, be collectively so well provided for as a smaller."

We do not accept these gloomy views of the course of nature and Providence. We do not believe, that any increase in the number of the civilized, Christian inhabitants of the earth is an evil, or that it entails any evil upon coming generations. Recognizing the facts, which must be obvious to all, that the civilized nations of the earth are now steadily advancing in numbers, though with various degrees of rapidity, while the barbarous tribes are either stationary, or are dwindling away, some of them with fearful speed, we see in them the beneficent working of a great law of Providence, which is giving the earth to be the exclusive habitation of those who know how to develop its resources and apply them to the noblest uses. The arts of peace, and the discovery of new means and appliances of civilization, are at least keeping pace with, if they do not outstrip, the actual increase of mankind in numbers. A nicely graduated principle of restraint,

applied just where it is most needed, checks the undue multiplication of the race in certain localities, where the pressure of population on the means of subsistence just begins to be felt; and this principle, mild and beneficent in its mode of operation, like all the general laws of Providence, must become universal in its effect, at that far distant day in the lapse of ages, when, if ever, the earth shall be so fully stocked with happy human beings, that there shall not be room and sustenance for more. The social evils which unquestionably now exist, and which are traced by such economists as Malthus, Ricardo, and McCulloch to an excess of population, appear clearly imputable to defective, unnatural, and unjust institutions of man's device, and admit of remedy without shaking the pillars of social order, or impiously calling on God to send war, inundations, or pestilence, wherewith to scourge mankind into a sense of their duty to restrain their natural inclinations, and destroy the sources of domestic happiness. Having established these points, on a former occasion, against the doctrines and the calculations of Malthus, we proceed to show that there is nothing in Ricardo's theory of rent which ought to shake our confidence in them.

And first, we would call attention to the fact, that both these theories are of English origin, and were first suggested, as is obvious, by observation of those evils in the social condition of England, which only within the present century have become of crying magnitude. These evils have manifested themselves in the only country in Europe in which all the land, the great food-producing machine, has come to be owned by so small a class, that the great body of the community seem to have no part or lot in it; while, at the same time, those ancient patriarchal and religious institutions, which certainly did much to mitigate the effects of an undue aggregation of landed property in the hands of a few, have entirely died out or been destroyed. It is the boast of the English, that the relations of vassal and lord, clansman and chieftain, serf and master, no longer exist among them. The English barons no longer support each an army of retainers to be their followers in war, and to keep up their feudal state. English prelates and monks no longer dispense open-handed hospitality and charity at the gates of richly endowed monasteries. These institutions of the Middle Ages have been destroyed

in England, root and branch; but their fall has not, as in many parts of the Continent, caused the landed property once aggregated in their support to be parcelled out again, with great minuteness and some approach to equality, among those who were formerly maintained by it in rude plenty, though not in peace or perfect freedom. Feudal relations have been done away, but the magnitude of feudal estates has not been diminished. The Highland chieftain has banished his clansmen from their hereditary possessions and hereditary dependence on him, has compelled them to emigrate or starve, has turned his vast Highland estate into sheepwalks and deerparks, and has himself become a wealthy English nobleman. A cool pecuniary calculation of profit and loss has induced him to take this step. The same motive has caused the great English landholders to depopulate their estates, driving the rural tenantry into the towns and manufacturing districts, where they must become operatives or paupers. The consequence of this aggregation of landed estates, and this mode of deriving the largest possible rent from them, has been a fearful increase of pauperism, and a general apprehension lest the tax for the support of the poor should become so large as eventually to beggar the rich also. No wonder that any increase of the population should be deemed an evil, when it appears from the returns, that one tenth part of that population are legalized paupers; and as not the same individuals, in all cases, receive public relief each successive year, it is probable that as many as one sixth of the whole number of the people are, or have been, dependent on public charity.

Systems and theories of political economy suggested by circumstances so anomalous and peculiar as these, or contrived with a view to explain and justify them, are not likely to be applicable to other countries, or to contain many general truths. England is the only country in the world, in which the laboring class is entirely dependent on the wages of hired labor; on the Continent, in most instances, they have a small property on which they can subsist, though poorly, in seasons when they cannot obtain employment elsewhere for time not needed at home, so as to add to their scanty incomes a small amount received as wages. If they have not a little land which is entirely their own, they have a sort

of prescriptive right to cultivate the land of others, on certain fixed terms, either as *metayers*, giving all the labor for a portion of the produce, or as feudal subjects bound to the soil, and having a right of maintenance from it. In neither case, are they driven into the labor market, as their only refuge from starvation, there constantly to depress wages by their frantic competition for employment, or to give up the struggle in despair by throwing themselves upon compulsory public charity.

Ricardo's theory of rent, we say, was discovered or invented with reference to this anomalous state of things. It is an attempt to establish as a law of nature the general fact, that an increase of the numbers of a people, *under any circumstances*, is an evil, because it creates an additional demand for food, which can only be met by having recourse to poorer or less advantageously situated soils, and by applying more labor and capital with constantly diminishing returns. It is abundantly confuted by facts, and can easily be shown to be unsound in principle. The assertion of Mr. Mill, "that a greater number of people cannot collectively be so well provided for as a smaller," becomes absurd when applied to an infant colony, established in a vast territory, on a virgin soil. Who can seriously maintain, that an increase of population is an evil in British Australia, or in the great valley of the Mississippi? It might as well be said that the people of Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin are straitened for want of room, as that their proportionate supply of food was lessened by the increase of their numbers. Among them, surely, it is apparent that an increase of population is an increase of productive power, and hence a proportionate increase of the surplus of grain and other articles of sustenance, which, after satisfying all their own wants in the amplest manner, they are able to send off to satisfy the wants of other nations. The average price of flour in Philadelphia market between 1800 and 1810 exceeded eight dollars a barrel; from 1810 to 1820, the average was about nine dollars. The population of this country in 1800 was but little over five millions; in 1820 it was somewhat less than ten millions. It is now more than twenty-three millions. And is the nation, in consequence of this vast increase of numbers, less bountifully supplied with food? On the contrary, the price of flour and other bread-

stuffs has greatly diminished, and we are supplying the world with them. The average price of flour for the last ten years has been less than six dollars; for the last two years, as has been said, it has been less than five dollars.

Our average annual export of articles of food now probably exceeds twenty-five millions; and in case of any failure of the crops in Europe, it could probably be tripled, or raised to seventy-five millions, without materially lessening the enjoyments of the people of this country, or raising the price of grain to a point beyond the reach of the poorest class of the population. Do these facts afford any evidence that the twenty-three millions, who now constitute the American nation, are not so well provided for as the five millions who occupied their place only fifty years ago? Are they not rather a demonstration of the principle, that the increase of numbers is an increase of productive power, and a consequent proportionate increase of the means of subsistence, — of the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life?

But it may be said that America is an exceptional case, and that we have no right to argue from the fortunate circumstances in which we are placed to general conclusions which would be wholly inapplicable in other portions of the world. We answer, that the facilities afforded by commerce now really connect all the civilized nations of the earth into one great community, the supply of all articles being made everywhere proportionate to the demand and to the ability to pay for them. Grain and other articles of provision are matters both of foreign and domestic traffic; every country can obtain an abundance of them, though her own soil may be entirely barren. Great Britain has no difficulty in obtaining a supply of cotton, though the cotton plant will not grow in the British isles. Grain and other provisions can be purchased even with greater facility than cotton and tobacco, or coffee and tea; for these latter articles can be raised only in a few favored countries, while the market of the whole world is open for the sale of food. In fact, the markets of New York and Liverpool now regulate each other; since the abrogation of the corn-laws, the price of grain cannot rise five per cent. in the latter place without a corresponding enhancement of price in New York within one fortnight, the time which it takes for a steamer to cross the Atlantic and

convey the intelligence; and before another week has elapsed, shiploads of corn are stemming their way eastward, to supply the trifling deficiency indicated even by this slight change in the market. It is no more a hardship or a disadvantage for England, than for our own State of Massachusetts, to be obliged to buy a portion of the articles of subsistence for her population; and the deficiency in our own case, it may be remarked, is relatively greater than in the mother country; for we *never* raise food enough for our own consumption, while the English crops, in ordinary years, suffice for nearly the whole English demand. In both cases, it may be said, that the deficiency proceeds not from natural causes, but from the choice of man. It is found more profitable to devote the larger portion of the labor of the two countries to commerce and manufactures, and to buy a portion of the food that is required, than to cultivate the soil to the full extent of which it is capable, and thereby raise the whole stock of provisions. If a given amount of labor employed in spinning yarn and weaving cloth will produce enough to buy two bushels of grain, while, if devoted immediately to tilling the ground, it will raise only one bushel, it is certain that the labor will be given to manufactures, and not to agriculture; and the deficiency of food thus created, (if it can be called a deficiency,) will afford no reason for impeaching the bounty of Providence, and no cause for fear lest the increase of the population should outstrip the increase of the supply of food.

We say, then, that Ricardo's theory of rent, being inapplicable and unsound in the case of America, is consequently untrue in its application to Europe generally, and even to England. An increase of the English population *does* create a larger demand for food. But this demand does not oblige the people to have recourse to the poorer soils in order to enlarge the crops, nor even to apply more capital with less profit to the soil already under tillage; it simply obliges them to import more food from America and the countries on the Baltic and the Black Sea. And the supply which these countries may afford is indefinite; the only reason why they do not *now* send more corn to England is, that England needs no more. There is every reason to believe, that if Great Britain should altogether cease to be a grain-producing coun-

try, if it should devote all its fields to pasturage, these other countries would still keep the English market bountifully stocked with grain, and with no material enhancement of its price. The possible supply of wheat and maize from the back country of the United States defies all calculation; it is kept dammed up there now, because the producers know, if it were thrown upon the market at once, that it would sink the price below the cost of production. But because it exists in excess, if the capacity of the market were increased, the supply might be indefinitely enlarged without any material or even perceptible enhancement of price. There is no more risk that our back country will be drained of wheat than that the great Mississippi will drain it of water. Lower the bar at its mouth, or sink the level of the broad ocean itself, and the rivers will yet continue to run, for their springs are perennial. The bounty of God feeds them. Instead of saying, then, that population presses on the means of subsistence, the true proposition would be, that the supply of food presses hard upon the increase of population. The force of the pressure being thus turned the other way, the supply of food might be indefinitely increased without any enhancement of price from the enlarged demand.

Thus much for the contradiction of Ricardo's theory by the facts in the case. The refutation of it in principle, or by abstract reasoning, is equally easy. And first, it is to be observed, that the natural fertility, or what Ricardo calls the original and indestructible powers of the soil, as an element of rent, are wholly insignificant in comparison with nearness to market. The most barren soils in the world, even hard rock, pure sand, or stagnant marsh, should a populous and wealthy city spring up in the neighborhood, will yield rent, often a large rent, because they afford a field which human industry and skill can convert into a productive garden. On the other hand, soil of the greatest natural fertility, if it be far distant from any market for agricultural produce, will command no price and yield no rent. For instances of the former class, take the larger portion of the soil of Belgium and Holland, much of which has been literally reclaimed from the sea, against which it is now protected by stupendous dikes, and a still larger part was originally barren sand, on which it was first necessary to plant coarse grass, the roots of which

might protect it from being perpetually shifted by the winds. Yet these broad districts of sea and sand are now the gardens of Europe, shaming even the wonders of English farming by the fulness of their crops. Two and a half acres of them yield food enough for a family of five persons. The acclivities of the Alps in Switzerland, dug out into terraces, and blooming with the olive and the vine, and many an acre of former bog in Ireland, now forming rich cornfields,—are other instances of land made productive and yielding rent by vicinity to a market, in spite of the greatest natural disadvantages.

For examples to corroborate the other branch of the statement, we have only to look at the remote West of our own fair land. Thousands of square miles of the most productive land in the world, on the western border of the State of Missouri, are even now lying tenantless because they will not command the government price of only $1,25 an acre. And even in the more thickly settled States of the great Mississippi valley, many a broad region yet remains waste in the ownership of the government, far superior in natural advantages to the soil of Belgium in its original condition, and for which, notwithstanding, no one will give this almost nominal price. The reason is, that there is not market enough in the neighborhood to take off the surplus agricultural produce. If the population should increase in numbers, so as to require a larger amount of food, though at the same price at which it is now held, this waste land would soon be purchased and reduced to tillage.

This point being established, then, that the original fertility of the soil is an element of little or no importance in the theory of rent, we have only to consider that portion of Ricardo's doctrine which relates to comparative distance from the market. He maintains, that land bears rent in proportion to its nearness to the place where agricultural produce is needed and consumed; and that the increase of population, consequently, is an evil, because the community are obliged to send farther and farther off for their supplies. Here is the great and obvious fallacy of supposing that the population, as it increases, remains stationary, or on the same spot, so that the grain must be brought to it at a price enhanced by the cost of transportation. We answer, that instead of the food

coming from a distance to the population, the population go to the food. The nation expands over more space as it increases in numbers. The tide of emigration sets towards the waste lands in a current, the velocity and depth of which are proportioned to the increase in the volume of the waters. The new comers, the addition to the nation, instead of raising the price of food for themselves and their predecessors, actually cheapen it. As they spread themselves over the waste lands, and reduce them to cultivation, they not only raise food enough for themselves, but they increase the surplus which is sent to market, to be there exchanged for manufactures and the produce of foreign climes.

This is exemplified in the history of our own New England. The average rate of increase of the population here has been but 17 per cent. for every ten years, while for the whole United States, it has been 34 per cent., or twice as large. Why is this, since the excess of births over deaths is probably as great in New England as in any other portion of the country? The answer is obvious. One half of those who are born here, and survive to the age of maturity, (one half of the surplus, we mean, over those who are needed to compensate for the deaths, and thus to keep up the population to its original number,) emigrate to the West, and there take their part in the great work of settling the wild lands, and reducing them to tillage. And so successful have their labors been, that the price of grain and other agricultural produce has not risen in proportion to the increase of our numbers, as it ought to have done, if Ricardo's theory were true; the average price of food, all over the country, has fallen since 1800, though since that time our population has been quadrupled, and though our exports of provisions also have increased to an immense extent.

We come, then, to a new definition of rent, — the very opposite of that of Ricardo. Rent is the advantage of raising grain and other agricultural produce on the spot where it is needed and consumed, over the necessity of carrying it to a distance; and it is therefore equal to the value of the net produce of the land, diminished by the freight and other charges of transportation. It is notorious, that rent is produced here in America, or in other words, that value is given to the land, by creating a market for agricultural produce in the neigh-

borhood of the land whence that produce is obtained; that is, by creating a town or civic population, engaged in manufactures and commerce, who have the means to buy the wheat. The price of that produce, or its cost in labor, is not necessarily increased by this increase of the population, and consequent rise in the value of land. It may be even cheapened. One family engaged in agriculture can raise produce enough not only for its own wants, but to supply the wants of two other families, engaged respectively in manufactures and commerce; it must be so, otherwise the agricultural family would not be able to purchase commercial and manufactured articles for itself. Malthus and Ricardo would have us believe, that an increase of the numbers of the people lessens the ratio of the supply of food to the demand for it, thereby enhancing the price. Yet the explanation now given shows that every new member of the community by his labor can provide food for three persons, — himself and two others; and this liability he must continue to possess till all the waste lands of the earth are occupied.

It is as much for the interest, then, of the farmers of the Mississippi valley, as of the manufacturers themselves, that the American system of protection should be restored. No one had a clearer perception of this fact than the great statesman of Kentucky, who has been called the father of this system, as he certainly has been its greatest advocate. At present, the value of lands in the West is kept down by the distance of their produce from a market. The cost of transporting a barrel of flour from Cincinnati to New York amounts, at ordinary prices, to at least forty per cent. of its value at the former place; the cost of its further transportation to Liverpool, including insurance and other necessary expenses, raises this proportion to nearly sixty per cent. Create a manufacturing population in Ohio like that which exists in English Lancashire, and the price of flour in Cincinnati would be made equal to its price at Liverpool. Free trade between England and Ohio, then, means simply that Ohio produce should be admitted into the English ports under what we may call a "transportation duty" of sixty per cent.; while, owing to the great value, in a small bulk, of the finer manufactures, English produce is to be admitted into Cincinnati at a duty of only fifteen per cent. In other

words, the opponents of protection would persuade the Ohio farmer that it is better for him to buy English broadcloth at $1,70 a yard, and sell his flour at $3,50, than to buy American broadcloth of the same quality at $2,00, and sell his flour at $5,60. The depression in the value of Ohio produce, which has taken place within the last few years, is clearly attributable to the fact, that the crowds of laborers discharged from our unprosperous manufacturing establishments, — 40,000 coming from the iron works alone, — and the 300,000 immigrants annually landed on our shores, have been driven into agriculture, and have so increased the annual product of Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin, as to undersell the Ohio farmer at his own door. The protection of our manufactures would enlarge the home market for him, through the very means which are now swelling the number of his competitors.

Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Life and Letters of* Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Dane Professor of Law at Harvard University. Edited by his Son, William W. Story. Boston: Little & Brown. 1851. 2 vols. 8vo.

The life of Judge Story is a part of the history of the country. Though he died at the comparatively early age of sixty-five, Lord Mansfield in England and Chief Justice Marshall in the United States were the only eminent judges that we can remember, whose official life was protracted for a longer period than his; and with these two octogenarians only can he be compared, in respect to the extent and importance of his judicial services. In the exposition of Constitutional law, he always gladly admitted that Marshall was his master and guide; and in the development of the Common law, Lord Mansfield's work being done, there was no opportunity left for accomplishing a task of equal magnitude. But in admiralty and prize law, the law of nations, equity jurisprudence, and some portions of the Common law which have been specially illustrated and enlarged by American practice, it would be difficult to name Judge Story's superior. Not only upon the

bench, but by his numerous and valuable publications upon various branches of the science, and by his arduous services in the Law School, which his labors raised to the rank of the most eminent and successful school of English law in the world, did he stamp his name upon the jurisprudence of his country.

But it is not only because he was a profound and eminent jurist, that we welcome the appearance of a biography of Judge Story. The singular frankness and simplicity of his character and manners, the natural sunshine of his disposition, his prompt and warm sympathies, and his very kind and liberal appreciation of the merits of others, while he was obstinately blind to their faults and shortcomings, created for him a host of friends, and made him a welcome guest and counsellor in many circles and for many purposes beyond those to which his time and efforts were principally devoted. As an active member of the Corporation of Harvard College, he rendered many valuable services to the cause of liberal education. As an orator on public literary occasions and a writer on miscellaneous subjects, his name is honorably connected with American literature. With his associates upon the Bench, especially with Marshall and Washington, he lived upon terms of brotherly familiarity and regard; and with most of the distinguished practitioners at that bar, his intercourse was hardly less cordial and intimate. Though, with a proper regard for the purity of the ermine, he would never allow his name to be used for any political purpose whatever after his appointment to judicial office, he took a deep interest in the course of political events, and expressed his opinions in private with the frankness and earnestness which were a part of his character. It is deeply interesting to be admitted behind the scenes, as it were, to the private life and correspondence of such a man. We may not agree with him in all his opinions; we may frequently dissent from his too favorable judgment of individuals. But it is a privilege to be permitted for a time to see with his eyes, and to listen to the unrestrained outpourings of a mind which left few subjects of thought without placing them in a clearer light by its quick perception of all their relations, and by a vigorous good sense which was never blinded by outward shows. Judge Story was almost an unmerciful converser in the quantity of his discourse; but mere words never imposed upon him, and he never imposed them upon others. He held up a topic in many aspects, but never gave it a false brilliancy, or failed to impart to his hearers his own just estimate of its precise worth.

These volumes come to us too late for any extended notice of their contents; but we hope to give them a full examination in a future number. If Mr. W. W. Story has made as faithful a por-

traiture of his father with the pen as he has with the pencil, which furnished the drawing that has been admirably engraved for a frontispiece to this work, or, we may add, with the chisel that has reproduced feature and character in the fine marble bust which now graces the library hall of Harvard College, he has every reason to be proud of his success. He has properly allowed the Judge to be, as far as possible, his own biographer; the fragment of an autobiography of his early life, and copious extracts from his correspondence, are inserted. The analysis of his judicial labors, and the notices of the more important cases which he decided, show the precision of statement and careful enucleation of the points at issue which mark the well-trained lawyer. We have only to add that the nicest amateurs in the mechanical execution of books cannot fail to be satisfied with these very handsome volumes. They do honor to the taste and liberality of our publishers, who had the pleasure and the profit of giving to the world the whole series of Judge Story's numerous juridical works.

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2. *Pre-Raphaelitism.* By the Author of "Modern Painters." New York: John Wiley. 1851. 12mo. pp. 57.

Any thing from Mr. Ruskin's pen will well repay perusal. He is a bold and eminently original thinker, master of a vigorous and often eloquent style, and, what is of most importance, he is always thoroughly in earnest. The present pamphlet is a defence of the Pre-Raphaelites, — a class of painters now making some noise and exciting a good deal of ridicule, who, as the author says in his preface, have carried out to the very letter the advice he gave to the young artists of England in the close of the first volume of "Modern Painters;" — that "They should go to nature in all singleness of heart, and walk with her laboriously and trustingly, having no other thought but how best to penetrate her meaning; rejecting nothing, selecting nothing, and scorning nothing."

"The artists of this school," says Mr. Ruskin, "imitate no pictures; they paint from nature only. But they have opposed themselves, as a body, to that kind of teaching which only began after Raphael's time; and they have opposed themselves as sternly to the entire feeling of the Renaissance schools; a feeling compounded of indolence, infidelity, sensuality, and shallow pride. Therefore they have called themselves Pre-Raphaelites. If they adhere to their principles, and paint nature as it is around them, with the help of modern science, with the earnestness of the men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they will

found a new and noble school in England. If their sympathies with the early artists lead them into Mediævalism or Romanism, they will, of course, come to nothing. But I believe there is no danger of this, at least for the strongest among them. There may be some weak ones, whom the Tractarian heresies may touch; but if so, they will drop off like decayed branches from a strong stem. I hope all things from the school." p. 23.

The character, or at least the pretensions, of a school which wins Mr. Ruskin's approbation, may be inferred from his delineation of what he conceives to be the proper work of a painter.

"It may be proved, with much certainty," he says, "that God intends no man to live in this world without working; but it seems to me no less evident that He intends every man to be happy in his work. . . But the men employed in the Arts, as a body, are *not* happy men. For which this seems to be the reason, that they are expected, and themselves expect, to make their bread *by being clever* — not by steady or quiet work; and are, therefore, for the most part, trying to be clever, and so living in an utterly false state of mind and action . . . No one expects any honest or useful work of the artist; but every one expects him to be ingenious. Originality, dexterity, invention, imagination, every thing, is asked of him except what alone is to be had for asking,— honesty and sound work, and the due discharge of his function as a painter. . . . The faculties, which when a man finds in himself, he resolves to be a painter, are, I suppose, intenseness of observation and facility of imitation. The man is created an observer and an imitator; and his function is to convey knowledge to his fellow-men, of such things as cannot be taught otherwise than ocularly. For a long time, this function remained a religious one; it was to impress upon the popular mind the reality of the objects of faith, and the truth of the histories of Scripture, by giving visible form to both. That function has now passed away, and none has as yet taken its place. The painter has no profession, no purpose. He is an idler on the earth, chasing the shadows of his own fancies." pp. 13–14.

But for this idle, aimless existence, he was never intended. That was no false instinct which prompted, in the painters of Europe, at the moment when the invention of printing superseded the necessity of their legendary labors, a universal inclination to copy ordinary natural objects. This instinct was misunderstood and misapplied; but it "was urging every painter in Europe at the same moment to his true duty, — *the faithful representation of all objects of historical interest, or of natural beauty existent at the period;* representations such as might at once aid the advance of the sciences, and keep faithful record of every monument of past ages which was likely to be swept away in the approaching eras of revolutionary change."

"Suppose," Mr. Ruskin continues, "that, after disciplining themselves so as to be able to draw, with unerring precision, each the particular kind of subject in which he most delighted, the painters of Europe had separated into two great armies of historians and naturalists; — that

the first had painted with absolute faithfulness every edifice, every city, every battle-field, every scene of the slightest historical interest, precisely and completely rendering their aspect at the time; and that their companions, according to their several powers, had painted with like fidelity the plants and animals, the natural scenery, and the atmospheric phenomena of every country on the earth — suppose that a faithful and complete record were now in our museums of every building destroyed by war, or time, or innovation, during these last two hundred years — suppose that each recess of every mountain chain of Europe had been penetrated, and its rocks drawn with such accuracy that the geologist's diagram was no longer necessary — suppose that every tree of the forest had been drawn in its noblest aspect, every beast of the field in its savage life — that all these gatherings were already in our national galleries, and that the painters of the present day were laboring, happily and earnestly, to multiply them, and put such means of knowledge more and more within the reach of the common people — would not that be a more honorable life for them than gaining precarious bread by 'bright effects?'

"Consider how the man himself [the artist] would be elevated; how content he would become, how earnest, how full of all accurate and noble knowledge, how free from envy — knowing creation to be infinite, feeling at once the value of what he did, and yet the nothingness. Consider the advantage to the people; the immeasurably larger interest given to art itself; the easy, pleasurable, and perfect knowledge conveyed by it, in every subject; the far greater number of men who might be healthily and properly occupied with it as a means of livelihood; the useful direction of myriads of inferior talents, now fading away in misery. Conceive all this, and then look around at our exhibitions, and behold the 'cattle pieces,' and 'sea pieces,' and 'fruit pieces,' and 'family pieces;' the eternal brown cows in ditches, and white sails in squalls, and sliced lemons in saucers, and foolish faces in simpers; — and try to feel what we are, and what we might have been." pp. 15–17.

Mr. Ruskin illustrates his views by criticisms upon the style and works of several modern artists, — Millais, Hunt, Prout, Lewis, Mulready, and Edwin Landseer, — some of whom are avowed Pre-Raphaelites, and the others, he asserts, owe their success to the adoption of principles similar to those held by that school. Dismissing these hastily, he dwells upon his favorite theme, the defence and eulogy of Turner. He gives a lively sketch of the development and progress of this artist's genius, and the characteristics of his style in the successive periods of his life.

By his various works, our author has at least succeeded in provoking a spirited discussion of the great principles of art, which cannot but lead to good results, however imperfect may be his own theory. His views have been adopted with enthusiasm by some people, because they are novel, and scornfully rejected by others for the same reason. Less passionate observers will probably agree, that they contain a store of important truths and

valuable suggestions, — but truths often partially presented, and with undue prominence attached to particular principles. This allowance, however, must be made — though many refuse to make it — that in works of a controversial character, (and such, in a greater or less degree, are every one of Mr. Ruskin's,) a partial and one-sided view of the subject is inevitable. In the enthusiastic assertion of controverted principles, a writer cannot be expected to make all the concessions, and take pains to state all the limitations to his theory, which he is really willing to admit, and which he should be required to acknowledge and define, were he attempting to write a calm and complete scientific treatise upon the whole general subject. Our author's natural disposition poorly qualifies him to resist these tendencies to extravagance. By the very constitution of his mind, he is the advocate, rather than the judge; — the advocate always, however, of what he deems sacred truth, and truth which needs to be boldly proclaimed. Believing that a tame and slavish adherence to the traditions of the schools is the great incubus upon modern art, and that an earnest study of nature is the great remedy, he strives with all his soul to inculcate this deep study and fond imitation of nature upon the artists of his time: let him not be charged with underrating the real value of rules and traditions, simply because he does not think the exigencies of the times require him to say a word in their defence. Some of his sneers and extravagant censures upon the great masters seem, it is true, to imply a most unreasonable contempt of the best established principles of art. In most cases, however, an examination of other parts of his works will modify this impression produced by single passages, and show that his views are far from being so heretical as one would at first infer. His writings have the defects, as well as the merits, of hasty composition; the merits of liveliness, ease, and spontaneous eloquence; but the defects of diffuseness, partial and apparently contradictory views, immature statement, and the want of a logical plan at once exact and comprehensive.

Leaving, however, the soundness of his creed to be discussed by Art Journals and Royal Academies, the general reader will find much to awaken his deepest interest in Mr. Ruskin's writings, — many views of art which commend themselves, by their intrinsic excellence, to the judgments even of those who have no technical knowledge of the subject; and many general truths and principles, which, covering a wider province than that of the artist, are universal in their application. In the present pamphlet, we have a good statement of the truth, that "God intends every man to be happy in his work," and that "no great intellectual thing was ever done by great *effort*."

3. *Reports of the Commissioner of Patents, for the Years* 1849 and 1850. Part II. *Agriculture.* Congressional Documents. Washington.

The first of these documents deserves favorable notice from those who are interested in the subject to which it relates. Though much smaller in bulk, it contains more that will be read, and be useful to the reader, than any of its predecessors. The compiler, instead of inserting in full every communication received, has abridged what would admit of abridgment, and published only what would, in his judgment, be useful. By much disagreeable labor, he has saved more than was paid for the work by reducing the cost of printing; and has, moreover, given us a more readable book.

At the beginning of the volume are placed several essays, by Dr. Daniel Lee, on subjects relating to Agriculture, the most important of which, in his opinion, if we may judge from his earnestness in discussing it, and in our opinion certainly, is the deterioration of the soil in this country, by the modes of cultivation pursued by our planters and farmers. He startles us, by estimating the annual waste of the fertile elements in our soil at an amount sufficient to produce a thousand millions of bushels of corn. This estimate he founds on a calculation made with the evident desire to reduce the loss to the lowest probable amount. From a work on American husbandry, published in London, in 1775, he extracts, in confirmation of his conclusions, the statement that "on good lands about Albany, they sow two bushels of wheat on an acre, and reap from twenty to forty; from twenty to thirty, are common; and with such bad husbandry as would not yield the like in England. This is owing to the richness and freshness of the soil." Dr. Lee then remarks that, in 1845, according to the State census, Albany county produced, on an average, only seven and a half bushels per acre; and four other counties, on Hudson river, produced only from five to eight bushels. In such has been, and continues to be, the progress of deterioration elsewhere, it is quite time that all who care for the future of our country should bestir themselves to arrest it. And what are these fertilizing elements of the soil annually wasted in such alarming quantity? They are the acids and alkalies existing there from the beginning in very small proportions, but which are essential to the growth of vegetables, and to the formation of the perfect animal, whether man or beast. They are drawn from the soil by plants, become a part of them, and ought to be returned to the ground in order to preserve its fertility; but a large

portion of them are carried to the cities in the form of grain and meat; another portion, having become soluble by entering into the organization of plants, sink deep into the earth where they are useless, or are transported by springs and rivers to the ocean. Thus, in time, the quantity or proportion remaining becomes too small to give vigor to vegetation, or to form a plant adapted to the nourishment of man.

The Report for 1850 deserves as much commendation as the one which preceded it. It contains several essays on agricultural topics, of which one is on the Origin of Soils, one on the Elements of Fertility, and another on the Philosophy of Improving Soils, — all contributed by Dr. Lee, and all, we doubt not, deserving of general perusal. These annual documents necessarily contain a multitude of facts and principles relating to many different subjects, thrown in without much regard to relationship or juxtaposition. We hope that they will hereafter be furnished with indices, or enlarged tables of contents, which will assist those who consult them in the task of finding what they particularly want; for very few will undertake to read them from beginning to end.

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4. *Celebrated Saloons*, by Madame Gay; and *Parisian Letters*, by Madame Girardin. Translated from the French, by L. Willard. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1851. 16mo. pp. 260.

These very lively sketches could not have been written anywhere else on earth than in Paris, or by any other writer than an accomplished *Parisienne*. They are intensely French, and intensely Parisian. They can hardly be understood in any other place than their native city; perhaps not even there, at the present day; for they belong to Paris such as it was, — the home of a brilliant court, and of the wits, the men of fashion and of letters, and the celebrated women, who made that court brilliant. *Nous avons changé tout cela.* The republican Paris which dates from February, 1848, has little in common with its splendid predecessor; it has not even the dignity of danger, as it had during the Reign of Terror. It is a poor copy, a feeble caricature, of the Paris which was rendered memorable by Danton and Robespierre, by Madame de Stael and Napoleon. It bears about as much resemblance to it as its Prince-President, a dandy with a big name, bears to his terrible uncle. No; even under the latest dynasty, under the *bourgeois* king, the gay capital of France was

infinitely more gay, and infinitely more respectable, than it is at this hour. The gloomy and unsexed George Sand, with all her genius, is a poor exchange for the fascinating Corinne, whom even the Emperor Napoleon condescended to be afraid of. George Sand is vulgar, the present French Republic is a cheat, and the Saloons of Paris exist no longer, except in the sparkling pages of Madame Gay.

It was a hazardous task to translate these sketches into English; their aroma is so delicate that it is almost sure to exhale and pass away, if the wine be decanted. Yet Miss Willard's translation affords pleasant reading; it is probably as faithful a copy as an English version can be, of the graceful and vivacious original. We have not the French at hand to compare it with; but in the following sentence, it seems that the significance of one phrase must have been mistaken. Speaking of Bonaparte's vexation with the troublesome orators of the Tribunat, who declaimed republican ideas after the day of republicanism was past, Madame Gay says: —

"It is true that many members of the Tribunat, *lost children* of the republic, imbued with ideas of liberty, and always proceeding towards, this seducing political mirage, loudly combated his preparatory decrees which seemed to them so many little paths leading to absolute power."

The phrase which we have italicized must be too literal a version of *enfans perdus*, which means "a forlorn hope;" the writer intends to say, that to preach republican opinions, after Bonaparte's power was firmly established, was as dangerous as to go upon a forlorn hope.

We shall not undertake to analyze or describe these sketches and letters, for they are indescribable; one can learn what the scent of the heliotrope is only by smelling of it. We will rather pilfer an anecdote from Madame Gay, and refer our readers to the book itself, that they may form their own opinion of its contents.

Maria Antoinette had expressed a wish to see Mademoiselle Contat in a favorite play of hers, in which that celebrated actress had not yet appeared. It had already become perilous to show any desire to please the queen, who was soon to change a palace for a prison, and then for the scaffold. But the generous actress did not hesitate; she procured the play, learned the part, which contained over five hundred verses, in twenty-four hours, and then wrote to the person who had told her of the queen's desire, "I was ignorant where was the seat of memory; I now know it is in the heart." For writing this note, which Marie Antoinette allowed to be published, the Revolutionary Tribunal afterwards sent Mademoiselle Contat to prison, and only the Ninth of Thermidor saved her from the scaffold.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Margaret, a Tale of the Real and Ideal, Blight and Bloom: including Sketches of a Place not before described, called Mons Christi. Revised Edition. By the Author of Philo, and Richard Edney, or the Governor's Family. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1851. 2 vols.

The Captains of the Old World, as compared with the Great Modern Strategists; their Campaigns, Characters, and Conduct, from the Persian to the Punic Wars. By Henry William Herbert. New York: Charles Scribner. 1851. 12mo. pp. 364.

The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World, from Marathon to Waterloo. By E. S. Creasy, M. A., Professor of Ancient and Modern History in University College, London. New York: Harpers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 364.

The Life of John Sterling. By Thomas Carlyle. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 344.

Moby-Dick, or the Whale. By Herman Melville, Author of Typee, Omoo, &c. New York: Harpers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 634.

The Iliad of Homer, according to the Text of Wolf; with Notes for the Use of Schools and Colleges. By John J. Owen, D. D. New York: Leavitt & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 740.

Florence, the Parish Orphan; and a Sketch of the Village in the Last Century. By Eliza Buckminster Lee, Author of Naomi. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 12mo. pp. 176.

Putnam's Home Cyclopedia. Hand-Book of Universal Biography. By Parke Godwin. New York: George P. Putnam. 1852. 12mo. pp. 821.

The I. II. III. Philippics of Demosthenes, with Historical Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes. By M. J. Smead, P. D. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 240.

A Wonder-Book for Girls and Boys. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. With Engravings. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 16mo. pp. 256.

Classical Series, edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt. Excerpta ex P. Ovidii Nasonis Carminibus. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1851. 12mo. pp. 245.

Memoirs of the War of Independence in Hungary. By General Klapka, Late Secretary of War to the Hungarian Commonwealth. Translated from the Original Manuscript by Otto Wenckstern. London: Charles Gilpin. 1851. 2 vols. 12mo.

Putnam's Home Cyclopedia. Hand-Book of Literature and the Fine Arts; comprising Complete and Accurate Definitions of all Terms employed in Belles Lettres, Philosophy, Theology, Law, Mythology, Painting, Music, Sculpture, Architecture, and all Kindred Arts. Compiled and Arranged by George Ripley and Bayard Taylor. New York: George P. Putnam. 1852. 12mo. pp. 647.

History of Greece. By George Grote, Esq. Vol. VII. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1851. 12mo.

Outlines of Chemistry, for the use of Students. By William Gregory, M. D. First American, from the Second London Edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, by J. Milton Sanders, M. D., LL. D. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 614.

The Comical Creatures from Wurtemberg, including the Story of Reynard the Fox. With Twenty Illustrations. New York: George P. Putnam. 1851. Small 4to. pp. 96.

The Young Christian. By Jacob Abbott. Very greatly improved and enlarged. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 402.

Mental Arithmetic, upon the Inductive Plan. Designed for Primary and Intermediate Schools. By Benjamin Greenleaf, A. M. Boston: Robert S. Davis & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 144.

Reviews and Essays. By E. G. Holland. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1849. 12mo. pp. 400.

Indications of the Creator: or, the Natural Evidences of Final Cause. By George Taylor. New York: Charles Scribner. 1851. 12mo. pp. 282.

Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings. By Daniel B. Woods. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 199.

Lives of the Queens of Scotland, and English Princesses connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain. By Agnes Strickland. Author of the "Lives of the Queens of England." Vol. II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo.

Glances at Europe, in a Series of Letters from Great Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, &c., during the Summer of 1851. Including Notices of the Great Exhibition, or World's Fair. By Horace Greeley. New York: Dewitt & Davenport. 1851. 12mo. pp. 350.

Poems, by Richard Henry Stoddard. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 12mo. pp. 127.

The Natural History of the Human Species: its Typical Forms, Primeval Distribution, Filiations, and Migrations. Illustrated by Numerous Engravings. By Lieut. Col. Charles Hamilton Smith. With a Preliminary Abstract of the Views of Blumenbach and others. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 423.

Moral Reflections, Sentences, and Maxims of Francis, Duc de la Rochefoucauld. Newly translated from the French. With an Introduction and Notes; to which are added Moral Sentences and Maxims of Stanislaus, King of Poland. New York: William Gowans. 1851. 12mo. pp. 189.

Annals of the Town of Keene, from its First Settlement in 1734, to the year 1790; with Corrections, Additions, and a Continuation, from 1790 to 1815. By Salma Hale. Keene: J. W. Prentiss & Co. 1851. 8vo. pp. 120.

Miscellanies, by the Rev. James Martineau. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1852. 12mo. pp. 472.

The Excellent Woman, as described in the Book of Proverbs. With an Introduction by William B. Sprague, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 249.

The American Matron; or, Practical and Scientific Cookery. By a Housekeeper. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 263.

Girlhood of Shakspeare's Heroines; in a Series of Fifteen Tales, by Mary Cowden Clarke. Tale IX. Rosalind and Celia. Tale X. Juliet, the White Dove of Verona. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851.

Arvine's Cyclopedia of Anecdotes of Literature and the Fine Arts; containing a Copious and Choice Selection of Anecdotes. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 8vo.

Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations by Pen and Pencil of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence. By Benson J. Lossing. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo.

London Labor and the London Poor. By Henry Mayhew. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo.

An Oration Pronounced before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, July 17, 1851. By William P. Sprague, D. D. Albany: Gray, Sprague, & Co. 1851. 8vo. pp. 60.

Spiritual Regeneration with Reference to Present Times. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ohio. By Charles Pettit M'Ilvaine, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 53.

An Address before the Norfolk Agricultural Society, at Dedham, September 24, 1851. By George R. Russell. Published by the Society. 8vo. pp. 30.

Bozzaris; a Tragedy, in five Acts. By N. Deering. Portland: J. S. Bailey. 1851. 12mo. pp. 66.

The Golden Legend. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1851. 12mo. pp. 301.

American Genealogy, being a History of some of the Early Settlers of North America and their Descendants, from their First Emigration to the Present Time, with their Intermarriages and Collateral Branches; including Notices of Prominent Families and Distinguished Individuals. Illustrated by Genealogical Tables. By Jerome B. Holgate, A. M. New York: George P. Putnam. 1851. 4to. pp. 344.

Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series. Eclogæ ex Q. Horatii Flacci Poematibus. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1852. 12mo. pp. 311.

The American Almanac, and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for 1852. Boston: Little & Brown. 12mo. pp. 352.

A History of the Massachusetts Hospital. By N. J. Bowditch. Not published. Boston: Printed by J. Wilson & Son. 1851. 8vo. pp. 442.

The Grammar of English Grammars, with an Introduction Historical and Critical; the whole methodically arranged and amply illustrated; with Forms of Correcting and Parsing, Questions for Examination, Exercises for Writing, &c. By Goold Brown. New York: S. S. & W. Wood. 1851. 8vo. pp. 1028.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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ART. I. — 1. *Histoire du Canada, depuis sa Découverte jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par F. X. GARNEAU. Quebec: 1846. 2 vols.

2. *Canals of Canada: their Prospects and Influence. A Prize Essay.* By THOMAS C. KEEFER, Civil Engineer. Toronto: 1850.

3. *Proceedings at the Ceremony of laying the Chief Corner Stone of the Normal and Model Schools and Education Offices,* at Toronto, July, 1851, by the EARL OF ELGIN, Governor-General of Canada.

BOUNDING on our northern frontier, from the northeast corner of Maine to an uncertain distance beyond Lake Superior, and extending northward into a dense wilderness, lies a country whose history has often been intimately connected with our own, and which now, from its recent elastic bound in the career of prosperity, is again forcing itself on our attention.

More than three hundred years ago, James Cartier, departing from St. Malo, in France, crossed the Atlantic and ascended the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga, an Indian village on the island of Montreal. From the top of a mountain, which he named Mount Royal, he looked down on a beautiful country, and while surveying it and the broad river approaching him from the southwest, the natives by his side told him that, in its course, long before reaching them, it ran through

three great lakes; that, beyond these, was a sea of fresh water, to which they knew no bounds; and that, over the mountains, was another great river, which ran to the southwest through a country free from snow and ice. Then and thus, for the first time, came to Christian ears information of the existence of the great Lakes and of the river Mississippi.

More than seventy years afterwards — twelve years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth — Champlain, the lieutenant of De Monts, laid the foundation of Quebec, and discovered the lake to which his name has been given. To establish a trade in furs with the natives was the chief object of De Monts and his early successors; no colonists were sent over, or came over, to cultivate the earth; a few Recollets, mendicant monks of the order of St. Francis, came and built a convent; and a pious governor, in 1665, anxious only to convert the Indians from their worship of idols, sent over, at his own expense, five Jesuits charged to perform that duty. Afterwards, more Jesuits were sent, the Recollets were excluded, for a time, from the settlement, and the exercise of any mode of religious worship but the Roman Catholic was strictly prohibited.

This infant colony, in a remote wilderness, received especial favor from the pious and charitable of the mother country. In 1635, the college of Quebec, sometimes called the Jesuits' college, was founded by René de Rohaut, and received subsequently large endowments from the government, and also from the Jesuits, to which order its founder belonged. A few years afterwards, the Hôtel Dieu, a hospital for the sick poor of both sexes, was founded by the Duchess d'Aiguillon; and the Ursuline convent, by Madame de la Pettrie, a widow, who, though rich and young, left her beautiful country, and devoted her fortune and life to the education of the females of the colony.

Trade with the natives, the conversion of the Indians, and the exclusion of all religions but one, being the chief objects of those who shaped, in its infancy, the destiny of the colony, it received from them, it is evident, none of the elements of progress. In 1663, fifty-five years after the arrival of the first settlers, the number of inhabitants did not exceed three thousand.

The feudal system being, at this period, in full force in Europe, the public land was granted in Canada, to be held

on the same tenure as in some parts of France. Tracts of all sizes, from one square mile to a hundred or more, were given by the king to faithful servants or to favorites, the gift conferring nobility and certain privileges and immunities, as well on the first possessor of the seigniory or lordship, as on those to whom it should be transmitted by inheritance, or assigned by sale or gift. On the death of the seignior or lord, one half of the land, with the title and privileges, descended to the eldest son; and he also took an equal share, with the other children, in the other half. When a seigniory was sold, the king was entitled to one fifth of the price; but one third of the fifth was relinquished in case of prompt payment. The seignior was bound on application to *concede* lands on certain terms to emigrants. The tracts conceded usually contained about one hundred acres, were subject to a rent of a few cents per acre, and to the performance of certain feudal duties and services. The tenant could sell the land to be held by the same tenure; but one twelfth part of the price belonged to the lord. On the tenant's death, the children inherited equal shares, all encumbered with the same rent and feudal obligations.

This mode of distributing lands to emigrants was found, at a later period, to be unfavorable to the prosperity of the colony; and since the conquest by Great Britain, when any portion of the public domain has been granted, a clear title has been given to the purchaser. From that time to this, public opinion has become more and more hostile to these feudal tenures, and it cannot be long before they will cease to exist.

The labors of the Jesuit missionaries to convert the Indians, the perils they encountered, the hardships they endured, their unfaltering self-devotion to their vow of obedience, and to their convictions of duty, form a sublime and affecting spectacle. With a breviary suspended from the neck, and a cross, the emblem of their faith, in the hand; often alone, sometimes in pairs, seldom with any assistants or protectors, they abandoned comfortable homes, and, venturing into the wilderness far from the abodes of civilized man, lived in huts, with only savages for companions. As early as 1634, two Jesuits established themselves on the shores of Lake Huron. In 1641, others advanced as far as the falls of St. Mary. In

1665, Father Allouez built a chapel near the western extremity of Lake Superior, and there preached, in the Algonquin language, to twelve or fifteen tribes who understood it; and before returning to Quebec, he visited the Nipissing Indians, who had been driven, by the Iroquois, into the desolate regions north of that lake. For this purpose, he travelled in those vast forests nearly five thousand miles, "suffering from hunger, nakedness, incessant toils, and the persecution of idolaters."

How successful the Jesuits were in their efforts to convert the Indians, has never been distinctly shown; they were certainly more successful than the Protestant missionaries. If they did not convert many to their own faith, it is well known that, by living among them, and treating them with kindness, they acquired great influence over nearly all the tribes in Canada, and in the contiguous territory then claimed by the English; and the sufferings endured by the inhabitants of New England from savage incursions, during the first half of the last century, and to which our subsequent history affords no parallel, were attributed rather to the intrigues of the Jesuits than to the French authorities. This belief doubtless rendered more bitter the prejudice before entertained by our Puritan ancestors, but now happily passing away, against the Roman Catholics and their religion. Those familiar with our history must remember the vengeance wreaked, by New England soldiers, on the Jesuit, Father Rasle, at Norridgewock.

The information brought back by the missionaries who visited the great Lakes, and by Indian traders who made even more distant excursions, induced the French authorities at Quebec to take measures to acquire a title to the territory north and south and beyond those Lakes, and to persuade the Indian tribes inhabiting that vast region to submit to the control of France. For this purpose, in 1670, Nicholas Perrot was despatched, with instructions to extend his explorations as far west as possible. He held a conference with the Miamis at Chicago, visited many of the tribes, and was welcomed by all as the envoy of the great Onnonthio, the appellation by which the French king was known to them. He invited them all to send deputies, the next year, to meet those of the great king at the falls of St. Mary. A multi-

tude of chiefs attended this congress, coming from the sources of the Mississippi, the Red River, and the St. Lawrence; and all, with one accord, placed their people under the protection of Onnonthio. A cross, the usual symbol of possession, was planted, and proclamation made that thenceforth the whole country belonged to France.

Pursuing the same object, the French government, in 1673, despatched Father Marquette and M. Joliet to discover the Mississippi, of which wonderful river they had often heard the savages speak. The story of this bold and hazardous enterprise has been told by historians and biographers, with the eloquence inspired by a favorite theme. Leaving Quebec, with several companions, they proceeded to an Indian village on Fox river, in Wisconsin, the remotest station which any European had then visited. Departing thence, and carrying their canoes over a short portage, they descended the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, which they first saw on the 17th of June; and having descended that river as far as the mouth of the Arkansas, they returned to the vicinity of the Lakes. Soon afterwards, the French discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, thus giving them an incontestable claim, as they thought, to all the valley of that river, as well as to that of the Ohio, and all northwest of it. At this time, the number of whites in Canada was about 8,000.

"Were we to state," says Garneau, "what brought the Europeans to America, we should say, that the Spaniards came to seek for gold, the English to enjoy civil and religious liberty, and the French to diffuse throughout the land the knowledge of Christianity." There is some truth in this remark; and it may be said further, that the leading motive of the founders of a colony has an important and enduring influence on its progress and destiny. The first impulse governs the direction in this case, as in others, until a different impulse comes to change it. But the race from which the first immigrants spring has also a powerful, and perhaps more enduring, influence; for they always act in harmony with the characteristics of this race, though generally in subservience to the leading motive of their emigration. In speaking of the three races which have sent colonists to America, it is sufficient for our purpose to distinguish them

as the Iberian, the Gallic, and the Saxon. All have noble characteristics, and each of the two first named would feel degraded if not placed at the head. The Iberian has contributed to history a splendid volume — though many of its pages are reddened with blood — by its heroic achievement in conquering the vast regions south of us in both Americas; but subsequent volumes tell how nations of innocent men melted away before infuriated avarice; how millions of lives were sacrificed to obtain silver and gold; how at length pride, engendered by success, brought retributive poverty; and how both together, by the misery they caused, fitly punished the perpetration of savage cruelties and the indulgence of unholy passions. These volumes say nothing of the prosperity and happiness of the colonies founded by the conquering nation; nothing of the arts and sciences it fostered among them; nothing of the intellectual, or moral, or religious training pursued to prepare them to act well their parts when, passing from adolescence to manhood, they should take their places among the nations.

The Gallic race laid broad plans, and proceeded to execute them with chivalric and benevolent intentions. It labored assiduously in its chosen field, until it became disheartened at not perceiving the anticipated result, and then surrendered itself to its inbred propensities. It loved to embark in difficult enterprises, the novelty and dangers of which rendered them only the more inciting. It delighted to wander in illimitable forests; to hunt over vast prairies, and fish in distant streams; and, more than all, to discover and describe what no European had seen before. For the distant and uncertain, allured onward by imagination rather than led by judgment, it neglected the near and attainable. It came in contact with another race, to which, after an honorable struggle, it yielded, and disappeared in a great measure from the New World.

This other race was the Saxon, from which sprang the first settlers of New England, where the blood of that race flows more pure than elsewhere in the Union. *They* came, as the historian has said, "to enjoy civil and religious liberty," to think, and to reason, and to act out their thoughts, with perfect freedom and independence. They began by building huts and tilling the soil. They hunted and fished,

never for amusement, but only for the means of living. As soon as they were able, they built boats and meeting-houses, fishing vessels and school-houses, ships and colleges. They neither received nor sought any assistance from abroad, but, relying on themselves, proceeded onward, constantly extending their boundaries, — building more commodious dwellings, better school-houses, and more respectable churches; and at the time when the Mississippi was discovered, fifty-three years after the landing of the Pilgrims, New England could number 100,000 inhabitants, few of whom had seen, or cared to see, any river more distant than the Hudson, or any lake larger than the Cochituate, or the Winnipiseogee; but most of them, of adult age, could read and understand the Bible, many were ripe scholars, and not a few were qualified to enact, and did enact, wholesome laws for the government of their fellow-men. Looking around them, they saw only inferiors, — above them, only God; and they became, as time passed on, more and more conscious of their own strength, and more and more resolute to acknowledge no superior on earth.

For nearly a hundred years after the discovery of the Mississippi, no important alteration was made in the mode of governing Canada, nor did any event occur which gave to it a new impulse, or tended to change the character of the population. No common schools, furnishing inlets of knowledge to the mind, were established; no discussion of religious topics was permitted; the faculty of reasoning was not exercised, and, of course, was neither strengthened nor developed. The country held forth no strong attractions to immigrants; few came; and those who came brought with them neither new ideas to increase the common stock, nor different habits to modify those which had hitherto prevailed. A portion of the people were engaged in hunting wild animals for their skins and furs; a few in fishing; most contented themselves, on arriving at manhood, with concessions from the petty nobility of small tracts of land, or with smaller farms received or inherited from their fathers — all encumbered with an annual rent, and also with uncertain feudal obligations. From these, applying no more than the adequate labor, they obtained just enough for their support. That earnest longing to better one's condition, which is,

when regulated, the source of many virtues and of all prosperity, and, when insatiate, of many crimes, had no place in their bosoms. In 1680, the population numbered about 10,000; in 1720, about 24,000; in 1759, about 60,000; in 1775, about 90,000.

During this period, the intercourse between Canada and the English colonies tended to exasperate the prejudice which already existed between them on account of the difference in religious belief. Often marauding parties of savages from Canada surprised English villages, and massacred or carried into captivity the inhabitants; and these inroads were sometimes retaliated by invading armies and fleets.

At length, a hundred and fifty years after the arrival of the first immigrants, one of these invasions was successful. Wolf took Quebec, and Amherst completed the subjugation of Canada. A different race became lords of the country; new habits were introduced, and greater activity and sagacity were displayed in all the departments of business. Undoubtedly Canada was benefited by the change, though she yielded slowly to its influence. Soon afterwards came the American Revolution. The commotion, moral, intellectual, and physical, among people of neighboring communities — the love of liberty the cause, and its attainment the object — tended to diffuse among them new ideas and new feelings; to scatter seeds of change and reform, a few of which were to bear fruit in the remote future. It also added to the population of Canada, particularly of that part of it afterwards designated as the Upper Province, many intelligent and industrious emigrants from New England and New York. A portion of our countrymen, who, when compelled to decide, determined to adhere to the crown, sought refuge there, and transferred to their new home the moral principles and industrious habits which prevailed in the homes they had left.

And what is Canada now? What her soil, her climate, population, resources, and social condition?

The soil of the Canadas, the whole of both divisions being considered, without going farther north than the line of profitable cultivation, will bear a favorable comparison with that of the territories south of them. The tract in Lower Canada lying east of the Chaudiere, and between the St. Lawrence on the north and New Brunswick and Maine on the south, is

the least fertile of the whole, and much of it is unfit for cultivation. That lying west of the Chaudiere and extending to St. Regis — bounding south on New Hampshire, Vermont, and a part of New York — is, says Col. Bouchette, late Surveyor-General, "a district of excellent and fertile land, and as well for that reason as for its bounding on the United States, promises to become, at no distant day, the most flourishing part of the lower province." And the increase of population in this region, partly by emigration from the United States, has fully confirmed his prophecy. Through this tract a railroad is now in process of construction from Montreal to Portland. Another large tract, lying northwest of Montreal and east of the Ottawa, is represented to be still more fertile.

Canada West has a larger extent of fertile land, and has also tracts more fertile, than Canada East. Of that large tract along its southern border, between the Ottawa and Lake Huron, including the peninsula between lakes Erie and St. Clair, but very little is unfit for cultivation; most of it equals the best lands of New York and Ohio; and some of it is even more fertile. High authority states that, near Toronto, one hundred bushels of wheat have been obtained from a single acre. How much of the vast territory lying farther north and west — among the western sources of the Ottawa, and north of Lake Superior — may be made productive, and how productive, no explorers have yet distinctly informed us; but it is known that many of those kinds of forest trees, which require a rich soil, grow there in great numbers and to a large size. A gentleman, for several years a resident of Upper Canada, states that that portion of it which lies between Kingston and Sandwich, and extends back from the shores of Lake Erie — from some points forty, and from others a hundred, miles — is capable of supplying all Europe with the grain she requires, besides producing cattle and sheep, hemp and flax, and yielding iron, copper, lead, lime, marl, and gypsum. Another resident states, "after consideration and calculation, that Upper Canada is capable of supporting, by agricultural pursuits alone, at least five millions of additional inhabitants."

The climate of Lower Canada, like that of all northern regions, is marked by distant extremes of temperature. In winter, the mercury has sometimes fallen, at Quebec, to thirty

degrees below, and in summer has risen to one hundred degrees above, zero. The winter begins about the 25th of November, and usually continues five months; and during this time, the snow, almost always of feathery lightness, is about four feet deep in the woods. But the air being pure and dry, except near the sea, the cold is not so piercing and uncomfortable as the thermometer would seem to indicate. It is only when most intense, and for a few days in a winter, that it confines the laborers to their dwellings. In the last days of April, the snow rapidly melts under a powerful sun, and, the earth being frozen but a few inches deep, vegetation almost immediately begins, and advances so rapidly as to render the spring more exhilarating and delightful than in southern regions, where its progress is slow. The heat of summer, short as the season is, is sufficient to ripen all kinds of grain; but the crop, especially of Indian corn, may not be so large as in more genial climates. At Quebec, apples attain maturity, and are raised in abundance. In Upper Canada, in conformity to a general law of the North American climate, which becomes milder as the degrees of longitude increase, the cold is not by any means so severe, or the winter so long. At Toronto and beyond, grapes and peaches attain perfection.

Of the origin of the population of Canada, something has already been said. Before 1760, all the emigrants were French, and nearly all came from Normandy. At this period, the whole population was estimated at 60,000. Afterwards, no emigrants came from France, but many have come from other parts of the world. Of the inhabitants of Lower Canada, an enumeration was made in 1844; of those of Upper Canada, in 1848; and in both, the country of their nativity was ascertained. Judging from these enumerations, the present population is not far from 1,500,000; of whom about 600,000 derive their origin from France; 550,000 from Great Britain; 250,000 from Ireland; 60,000 from the United States; and 40,000 from continental Europe.

When the census of Upper Canada was taken, in 1848, an attempt was made to ascertain the numbers belonging to the various religious denominations. Judging from the returns, which are supposed to be only an approximation to the truth, those belonging, at the present time, to the church of Eng-

land may be set down at about 200,000; to the church of Rome, about 125,000; to the church of Scotland, about 75,000; the residue of the population being Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, &c. The numbers of the various sects in Lower Canada have not been ascertained.

In Lower Canada, the Catholic clergy are supported by endowments and tithes granted before the conquest, and guaranteed by treaty between England and France. The clergy of the church of England are supported, in part, by the Church Missionary Society of Great Britain, and in part, by their own congregations. In Upper Canada, one seventh of the ungranted lands have been set apart for religious purposes, and are called "Clergy Reserves." The income derivable from this source is appropriated, to the church of England two fifths; to the church of Rome one fifth; to the church of Scotland one fifth; to the Wesleyan Methodists one fifth. The clergy of other denominations rely for support on their own congregations.

Within the last few years, by the construction of canals, and by other favorable events, the industry of Canada has been stimulated and her resources have been developed with a rapidity beyond any recent example. From Lake Erie, and of course from Lakes Huron and Michigan, vessels and steamers, bearing three hundred and fifty tons each, can now descend to the ocean and return. To enable them to do this, the Welland Canal, passing by the Falls of Niagara, and connecting Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, has been constructed; and also several short canals along the St. Lawrence, where falls in that river occur,—all with capacious locks, and all together measuring over ninety miles. Besides these, the Canadians enjoy the benefit of two other canals,—the Rideau Canal, one hundred and twenty-eight miles long, and connecting Kingston on Lake Ontario with Bytown on the Ottawa; and the Chambly Canal, eleven miles long, which connects Lake Champlain with the St. Lawrence near Montreal.

The prosperity of the colony is shown by the increase of her trade. In 1840, she exported about $1,475,000; in 1850, about $13,290,000. Her imports have increased in nearly the same ratio, being, in 1850, about $15,950,000. In the last year, the imports from the United States amounted to $7,404,000, and the exports thither to $5,813,000.

Through the canals on the St. Lawrence, in 1850, passed 7,166 vessels and steamers, of which 6,827 were British and 339 American, and the aggregate tonnage was 547,322 tons; and through the Welland Canal, 4,761 vessels and steamers, of which 2,692 were British and 1,799 American, and the aggregate tonnage was 587,100 tons. Many of the descending vessels bring to American ports on the St. Lawrence below Buffalo the produce of Canada West, destined to New York and Boston; and many, ascending, carry commodities furnished by the same cities.

The resources of Canada are soon to be still further developed by the construction of railroads, which are much better adapted to the country and the climate than canals. Many charters have been granted, but two roads only, we believe — and they are short — have been completed. Of these, one extends from the St. Lawrence, nearly opposite the southwestern end of Montreal, to St. Johns, on the waters of Lake Champlain; and the other, extending from Queenston below, to Chippewa above, the Falls of Niagara, is used for horse power, and only in summer.

Recently, two important roads have been projected, and so large a portion of both has been already constructed, as to render their completion within a year or two certain. One of these roads, The Great Western, will be about two hundred and thirty miles long, and will extend from Niagara Falls, passing at some points forty and fifty miles north of Lake Erie, through interior townships unsurpassed in fertility, to Windsor, opposite Detroit; at its eastern end, connecting with a line leading to the Hudson, and thence by diverging routes to New York and New England; and at its western end, the river intervening, with a line passing through Michigan to the farther West; thus enabling a passenger to go, by railroad, from Boston, and even from Portland, to the Mississippi. The other road, the Atlantic and St. Lawrence, leaves the south shore of the river, just below Montreal, and, as located and partly built, passes through a part of Canada East, through the northeast corner of Vermont, through New Hampshire north of the White Hills, and through Maine to Portland. This road is built and in use to Skipton, about eighty miles from Montreal, at which place it will probably be joined by a road from Quebec, thus affording to both cities

an easy access, by the shortest route, to a convenient port on the Atlantic. Of the other end of this road, about ninety miles, extending from Portland to Gorham in New Hampshire, have been finished and are now in operation.

Of many other roads projected several have been commenced, and there is hardly a doubt that these will be completed in a few years at most. We hope the builders will derive profit from their investments. If they should not, it must console and reward them to witness the accelerated prosperity of their country resulting from their undertakings.

The imperial government having surrendered to the provincial legislature the power of imposing duties on the trade of Canada with other countries, and appropriating the proceeds, the latter has proposed to the United States to enter into an arrangement, by which the natural products of each country shall be admitted by the other free of duty. And it is understood that, should the proposition be accepted, the British government would grant to us the free navigation of the St. Lawrence. The administration favors the proposition, but it has not yet been allowed by Congress. The principal arguments urged against it are the assumptions that it would involve a considerable loss of revenue, and that it would allow to Canadian farmers a free competition, in agricultural products, on our own soil, with our own farmers, to the disadvantage of the latter.

That the arrangement contemplated would diminish the revenue of both countries is probable, but not certain. Permitting free trade in some articles may lead to the increase of trade in articles paying duty. And, moreover, let the question — which pays the duty, the producer or consumer? — be decided either way, the farmers on each side will be both, and, as producers or consumers, will gain what their government loses. To the other assumption it may be replied, that, if our farmers should lose by competition on this side of the line, they may gain by it on the other; if they lose by the importation of wheat, which for reasons often stated is at least doubtful, they may gain by the exportation of other articles. On this question, able statesmen and practical men differ, and it can be decided only by experience. The revenue which our treasury now receives from this source may amount to a third or a half of a million.

But a valid reason may be assigned in favor of our assent to the proposition. The intercourse between the two countries is now impeded — almost prevented — by our revenue laws. Neighbors, living in sight of each other, cannot exchange wheat for cattle, nor potatoes for lumber, without paying a duty, or violating the laws of the land. Remove this impediment; allow and encourage a constant intercourse between the inhabitants on both sides of the line, by making that intercourse profitable, and they will regard each other, not as strangers, and, it may be, as enemies, but as neighbors and friends; and whatever quarrels or conflicts may arise between us and Great Britain, the horrors of war will never again be felt or known, as they often have been, on our northern frontier.

The cultivated land in Canada, with the exception, perhaps, of that portion of the eastern division where it is held by a feudal tenure, is divided into small farms, which are, in almost all cases, owned by those who reside upon them. The condition of the great mass of the people is therefore very nearly the same as that of the citizens of the Free States of our Union. The richest there may not be so rich as the richest here; and so often display sagacious enterprise and untiring industry. But labor is sufficiently stimulated by certainty of reward, and depressing poverty as well as overshadowing wealth is rare.

The attention paid to the education of the whole people indicates, with the most certainty, the social condition of a community. It may be well to dwell on this topic, not only that our readers may know what our neighbors are doing in this matter, but that they may be able to determine whether the system there adopted may not, in some of its details, be better than ours. And here it should be noted that, in treating of this subject, we shall speak only of Canada West; although the same system, as we understand, has been adopted, but has as yet been less successful, in Canada East.

More than forty years ago, probably at the suggestion of emigrants from the United States, then composing a considerable portion of the population, the legislature made an appropriation in aid of common schools; and from that time to 1841, annual parliamentary grants have been made for this purpose. But they were expended without system, and

with little advantage to the country. In 1841, a provincial statute was enacted, granting money to each county, to be expended in the support of common schools, on the condition that the county should raise, for the same purpose, an equal amount by local taxation. Several laws altering and improving the details of this system were subsequently passed; and in 1850, all the provisions of former laws which experience had sanctioned, and others which it had shown to be necessary, were incorporated in one statute.

Before the provisions of this act are stated, it should be premised that, by other laws, Upper Canada is divided into counties, townships, incorporated cities and villages; each of which has a council, which manages its affairs; and by an act of the provincial legislature, the sum of £25,000, equal to $100,000, is set apart as a school fund, to be applied annually to purposes of education.

The school act empowers each township council to divide the township into school sections, answering to our school districts; and also to establish a township model school. These sections are authorized to choose, at first, three trustees, to remain in office respectively one, two, and three years; and every subsequent year to choose one, to take the place of the trustee retiring; and also to decide in what manner they will procure the funds necessary to defray their school expenses; whether by voluntary subscription, by rate-bills on parents sending children to the schools, or by rates on the property of all.

The trustees are empowered to employ a teacher or teachers, male or female, or both, and give such compensation as they may think proper; to appoint a collector; to estimate the sum necessary to defray all expenses; to issue their warrants to collect the amount; and to exercise a general supervision over all the schools in the section. Analogous provisions, to accomplish the same purposes, are made with regard to incorporated cities and villages.

The school fund before mentioned is apportioned annually by the chief superintendent, among the several townships, according to the population of each; and by the local superintendents among the several sections, according to the average attendance of the scholars; and each section is required to raise a sum at least as large as that received from

the treasury. Should it fail to do so, the county council is required to assess and levy the whole sum, or the amount deficient, to be expended for the benefit of the section.

The county council appoints a local superintendent of schools for the whole county, or for any one or more townships, not giving to any one superintendent the oversight of more than one hundred schools. He is entitled to at least four dollars, each year, for every school placed under his charge, and may be, and often is, allowed additional compensation. He is required to visit every school once a quarter; to deliver a public lecture, in each school section, once a year; and to report annually to the chief superintendent. And it is provided that no section shall be entitled to any portion of the school fund from which a satisfactory report was not received the preceding year.

All the local superintendents and the trustees of all the grammar schools in the county are constituted a Board of Public Instruction for the county. To this board is intrusted the duty of examining all persons who desire to be employed as teachers. Those whom they deem qualified they arrange in three classes, according to their qualifications, and state, in the certificate given, the class to which he who receives it belongs. No person is entitled to receive compensation as a teacher unless he has such a certificate; and no section can receive any portion of the fund unless a school has been kept in it six months during the year by a qualified teacher.

Besides the local superintendents, who are required, all clergymen recognized by law, the members of the legislature, and all magistrates are authorized, to visit the schools within their parishes, towns, or counties, and they are desired to attend especially the quarterly examinations. The county and township councils are authorized to raise such sums as they may think proper for public school libraries; and general regulations in regard to them are prescribed.

A council of public instruction and a chief superintendent of schools, both appointed by the crown, are placed at the head of the whole system. To the council is intrusted the management of the provincial, normal, and model schools, for the establishment of which provision is made by law; it recommends text-books, and books for the

school libraries; prescribes regulations for the organization, government, and discipline of common schools, the examination and classification of teachers, and the establishment and care of libraries. To the chief superintendent are assigned other duties than have already been mentioned, similar to those usually performed by the same officer in the States.

Such is a very brief sketch of the system of public elementary instruction in Upper Canada. It is now in active operation, and the intelligence and zeal with which it is administered justify the highest anticipations of its success and future usefulness. It is certainly encouraging to know that the number of schools in Upper Canada, of which report has this year been made to the chief superintendent, is 3,059; and that the number of pupils in these schools is 151,891. Massachusetts, which, in 1849, had about 150,000 more inhabitants than Upper Canada has now, had then 3,749 public schools, and they were attended by about 200,000 pupils. When it is considered that many of the townships in Canada have been settled but a few years, and that the inhabitants they contain are yet struggling with the difficulties around them, the comparison cannot appear unfavorable to our younger neighbors.

With what earnestness the inhabitants of Upper Canada have engaged in the cause of education is shown by the published account of the "Proceedings at the ceremony of laying the chief corner stone of the Normal and Model School and Education Offices, by the Earl of Elgin, Governor-General of Canada," at Toronto, in July last. Most of the chief officers of the province manifested, by their presence, their hearty coöperation in the measure. From an eloquent address to the Governor-General, delivered on the ground by the Rev. Dr. Ryerson, chief superintendent, we learn that

"This institution is designed to accommodate two hundred teachers-in-training, and six hundred pupils in the Model School; — a school intended not merely as a pattern, according to which common schools generally should be conducted, but a school in which the teachers-in-training will practise in teaching the subjects of the instructions and lectures given in the Normal School;" and that the land set apart for the purposes of the institution "is an entire square consisting of nearly eight acres,

two of which are to be devoted to a botanical garden, three to agricultural experiments, and the remainder to the buildings of the institution and to grounds for the gymnastic exercises of students and pupils. It is thus intended that the valuable course of lectures given in the Normal School, in vegetable physiology and agricultural chemistry, shall be practically illustrated on the adjoining grounds, in the culture of which the students will take a part during a portion of their hours of recreation."

And we learn farther, that, to accomplish this project, a public grant had been made of fifteen thousand pounds, — "an enlightened liberality, on the part of our legislature, in advance of that of any other legislature on the American continent."

Near the close of his address, the chief superintendent remarks, —

"There are four circumstances which encourage the most sanguine anticipations in regard to our educational future: The first is, the avowed and entire absence of all party spirit in the school affairs of our country, from the provincial legislature down to the smallest municipality. The second is, the precedence which our legislature has taken of all others on the western side of the Atlantic, in providing for normal school instruction, and in aiding teachers to avail themselves of its advantages. The third is, that the people of Upper Canada have, during the last year, voluntarily taxed themselves, for the salaries of teachers, in a larger sum, in proportion to their numbers, and have kept open their schools, on an average, more months, than the neighboring citizens of the great State of New York. The fourth is, that the essential requisites of suitable and excellent text-books have been introduced into our schools, and adopted almost by general acclamation, and that the facilities of furnishing all our schools with the necessary books, maps, and apparatus will soon be in advance of those of any other country."

Surely, these are gratifying indications of the future intellectual and moral elevation of the Canadian people, and of their rapid progress in all the arts that bring wealth and refinement in their train.

In view of all these circumstances, it is not surprising that speculation should be active in attempting to mark out the political future of Canada; that the questions should often arise, — Will she long remain connected with the British em-

pire? Will she soon demand a place among the nations? Will she seek to form a part of the American Union?

It is fortunate for her that the discipline that she has undergone for the last hundred years; that the character and direction of her progress for the last fifty years; her recent moral and mental developments; her position, soil, and climate, — have all been or are, such as to give assurance that, whichever of these courses she may choose for herself, her progress will be rapid in the direction which recent impulses have given to an elevated rank among prosperous communities.

We know of no motive which should induce her to remain connected with the British empire but the sentiment of loyalty, which is, doubtless, yet felt by many Canadians. We call it a sentiment rather than a duty; for a colony situated as Canada is, — her early as well as her recent history being considered, — has a right to consult her own interests, fulfilling only those special obligations, if any, which yet rest upon her. Does she still need the protection of Great Britain? — does Great Britain need her aid? are the benefits she receives from the present connection greater than she would probably receive from laws enacted by her own representatives, and administered by her own magistrates and rulers? — are questions for her, and her only, to decide; and they should be decided under the responsibilities, to herself and to others, which the highest of all laws impose on men, whether acting individually or as communities.

And whether, having dissolved her connection with Great Britain, should she so decide, — but in no other way, we hope, than by mutual agreement, — she shall choose to govern herself in all things as an independent nation, or shall enter into the American Union, regulating her own domestic affairs, and sharing with others, her equals, the management only of her foreign relations, and such other affairs as equally concern her and her partners, — are also questions which she only has a right to decide; and in regard to them, we shall not take the liberty to express, not even the trouble to form, an opinion.

Art. II. — *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* Par M. Thiers. Paris: 10 vols. 8vo. 1845–1851.

This work has not yet been noticed in our pages, as we hoped its publication would be completed, and that we might view it as a whole. But six years have now elapsed since the first volume appeared, and although the tenth volume is now before us, there seems to be but little prospect of its speedy completion. We must therefore content ourselves with what has been done; and, indeed, the field seems sufficiently large. The volumes published carry the story from the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire to the German campaign of the year 1809. From a view of the manner in which this period has been treated, we may infer the spirit in which the whole work will be conceived and executed.

But before we enter into any account of the book itself, we would give a brief sketch of the life and labors of M. Thiers. Few men have played a more conspicuous and influential part in France during the last twenty-five years, though the system which he so strenuously labored to establish there has been overturned. He has been judged, sometimes with all the partiality with which political partisans are apt to regard their leaders, sometimes with all the severity of bitter and implacable opponents; but no one at all acquainted with the history of the latter years of the Restoration and the reign of Louis Philippe, can deny that he is endowed with remarkable talents, and that, whether he be regarded as a writer, a statesman, or a debater, he has but few equals in France.

Louis Adolphe Thiers was born on the 15th of April, 1797, at Marseilles, of an humble but respectable family, which, during the Revolution, had been deprived of the small fortune they had amassed in trade. He was fortunate enough to obtain a fellowship in the college of his native town, and was thus enabled to acquire an education, which, had he depended on the resources of his family alone, he probably could not have attained. It was not long before he justified the favor which the government had shown him, by placing himself at the head of the different classes through which he passed. Napoleon had hoped, by founding these fellowships in the different colleges in his empire, to be able to educate

young men, who, at a future period, might become the defenders of the despotic though glorious system he was so anxious to establish permanently in France. But even before Thiers had finished his college studies, the empire had vanished, and Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of his ancestors. Finding that he could no longer look to government for any assistance, Thiers immediately left college. Obliged to choose a profession as a means of obtaining a livelihood, after considerable hesitation, he entered his name at the Law School of Aix. It was there that he formed an intimacy with M. Mignet, the distinguished secretary of the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences, which has since ripened into a friendship, which neither the multifarious occupations of active political life, nor literary emulation, have ever for a moment impaired.

While at Aix, Thiers devoted himself with zeal to the study of his profession, but without neglecting mathematical and metaphysical pursuits, for which he seems to have acquired a fondness at college. An opportunity of availing himself of these studies was soon afforded. The city of Aix, desirous, like most of the provincial cities of France, of imitating Paris in literary matters as well as in every thing else, had an academy which annually proposed prize questions. In 1818, the subject given out was a sketch of Vauvenargues, an eminent writer on moral philosophy, who was born at Aix. Thiers resolved to try his fortune, and his paper was read by the Academy, and received general approbation. Unfortunately for the author, his name was discovered before the prize was awarded; and the judges, who disliked him on account of his liberal principles, resolved not to grant any prize, but to give out the same question for the following year. Thiers was not thus to be defeated. With the facility which has always distinguished him, he immediately wrote another paper, treating the subject in an entirely different manner; and in order to make sure of the victory, he sent his manuscript to a friend in Paris, who forwarded it to the Academy through the post-office. The result of this little stratagem was what might have been expected. The provincial Academy was so flattered by the honor conferred on it by the metropolis, that it unhesitatingly awarded the first prize to this essay, at the same time granting the second to Thiers's paper of the pre-

ceding year. Their surprise and mortification, on finding that both papers were by the same hand, may readily be imagined. This success gave Thiers considerable reputation; but he soon found that a provincial town was too small a sphere of action for him. The practice of the law, with all its drudgery, was ill-calculated to satisfy his ambition. He resolved to go to Paris; and in the summer of 1821, he and his friend Mignet left Aix and directed their course towards the capital.

The moment for visiting Paris could not have been better chosen. Six years only had elapsed since the Restoration of the Bourbons, and already, by the faults which they had committed, they had alienated the people from them. The opposition party was daily gaining ground, and was threatening the government with ruin. Manuel, the ardent leader of this party, was devoting himself in the Chamber to the defence of liberal principles. Beranger, perhaps the greatest, and certainly the most popular, of the French poets of the age, was arousing the nation from its apathy by those patriotic songs which recalled so vividly the glories of the Empire, and inspired feelings of hatred and revenge against a government which owed its existence rather to foreign bayonets than to the will of the people. Lafitte, whose name is so closely connected with the government established in 1830, had already begun to collect around him the discontented of all parties. The two newspapers which then represented the liberal party were the *Courrier Français* and the *Constitutionnel.* Mignet soon became the principal contributor to the former, and Thiers, through the agency of Manuel, was intrusted with the political control of the *Constitutionnel.* He soon attracted public attention by the able and spirited articles which he wrote for that paper, and by the eloquent manner in which he defended, in the political *salons* of the day, the principles of his party. He did not, however, confine himself exclusively to politics. Like most young men, who have not yet entered on the regular occupations and duties of life, he seemed as yet undecided in respect to the choice of a profession for life. In 1822, we find, in the same paper in which he wrote his essays on the leading political questions of the times, a series of articles on art, for which he has ever entertained, even amidst the cares of office and the harassing duties of public life, a fond love and a discriminating

taste. In 1823, he published an account of a journey which he took in the south of France; and although the principal object of this work was to give a sketch of the political condition of that part of the country, it contains many passages in which the beauties of nature are delineated in the most striking colors.

While engaged in the turbulent political discussions of the day, Thiers had necessarily frequent occasion to refer to the speeches and writings of the leading men of the Revolution of 1789. He identified himself with them, and imbibed their spirit. He believed, that, in the present degraded position of France, all her hopes must rest on those who should undertake to carry out the principles proclaimed during that memorable crisis. One of the principal objects of the despotic government of Napoleon had seemed to be, to blot out from the memory of the nation the recollection of the source whence it sprang; and to a government like that of the Restoration, a revolution which had abolished the feudal rights of the aristocracy, and had proclaimed the equality of all Frenchmen, seemed the incarnation of all that was monstrous. Thiers endeavored to create an interest in the men who had endeavored to regenerate France by violent and revolutionary means; and for this purpose, he gave his countrymen a history of the generation from which they were descended. He succeeded but too well. His history of the Revolution soon made the author's name known throughout France. In a short time, it was in the hands of every intelligent Frenchman, and contributed not a little to discredit the administration of the Bourbons, and to prepare the public mind for the Revolution of 1830. In perusing this work, the reader should always bear in mind the object which the author had in view in writing it. It should be regarded rather as a political manifesto than as a history. Although portions of it give evidence of the author's powers as an historical writer, and some of the descriptive passages are very successfully executed, the reader easily perceives the work to be that of a politician, who is writing a defence of the Revolution and its principles. It is evident that the author's intention is, not so much to describe the different phases of that revolution, as to arouse his countrymen, and to induce them to found a government which should be based on the principles of liberty and equality proclaimed in

1792. A work of this sort is not written for posterity, and it is not detracting from the author's merits to say, that it will probably be but little read at a future period. The work of Mignet, on the same subject, though it is also marked by too much partiality, will probably have more lasting value.

But whatever may now be thought of the history of the Revolution as an historical composition, its success at the time of its publication was unbounded. It at once placed Thiers at the head of the opposition, or rather of the revolutionary fraction of that party; which was at that time divided into two distinct classes. The one of which Thiers became the leader looked forward with impatience to the moment of the downfall of the reigning dynasty, as the only hope of France; the other, which received the name of the *Doctrinaires*, and which counted in its ranks such men as Guizot, Villemain, Cousin, and Rémusat, believed that a durable constitutional monarchy might be founded with the Bourbons. Both these fractions were, however, opposed to the course pursued by government; they differed only as to the manner of their opposition. Such was the state of feeling in the liberal party when, in August, 1829, M. de Polignac was called to the ministry, and it became evident at once that the administration was determined to resist to the utmost the just claims of the nation. It was then that Thiers, Mignet, and Armand Carrel decided to establish a paper called the *National*, which should protest against the reactionary conduct of the ministry, and defend to the last the constitutional charter.

In this journal, Thiers treated with remarkable ability the principal constitutional questions of the day. The true theory of a limited monarchy, the form of government to which he has always been attached, and his confidence in which was not shaken even by the events of 1848, is admirably developed in the articles published by him at that time. As a specimen of his views on this subject, we translate the following extracts from an article entitled "*The King reigns, but does not govern.*"

"We have again become involved in a discussion with the ministerial journalists concerning the form of our monarchy and the limits of the royal and parliamentary power. They make an admission of which we hasten to take notice, — namely, that in England, the ministry is always chosen from the majority in Par-

liament, and receives its power from parliament alone ; — that, in fact, parliament chooses the ministers. They add, that it is because parliament has the initiative in law-making in England, and because this initiative and the choice of ministers are two rights that necessarily go together, that the English monarchy is not the same as the French ; and thus they avoid the consequences of their admission. It remains then for us to show, that, with regard to royal and parliamentary rights, there is no difference between the two countries. This is what we most sincerely believe. We think that there is but one possible form of representative monarchy, and that the differences between England and France consist merely in the social condition of the two countries, that of the one being still feudal and aristocratic, that of the other revolutionized. In both, the rights of King and parliament are absolutely the same, because they cannot vary ; because representative monarchy, whether established in Spain, Italy, Germany, or Russia, would be in all these countries the same. It is a system of which all the different parts are necessary, and cannot vary.

"The king does not administer, does not govern, but reigns. Ministers administer and govern, nor can they be compelled to retain a single subaltern against their will ; whereas the king may often have a minister against his will, because, we repeat it, he does not administer, he does not govern, he reigns. To reign is a noble privilege, — one which it is difficult to make some princes understand, but which the sovereigns of England understand perfectly. An English king is the first gentleman in his kingdom. He hunts, has a taste for horses, is fond of travelling, and visits the continent, so long as he is Prince of Wales. He is even a philosopher, when it is the fashion for the nobility to be philosophers. He has English pride and English ambition developed to the highest degree. He wishes the triumph of the English flag. His heart is the happiest in England after Aboukir and Trafalgar. In a word, he is the highest expression of the English character. The English nation respect and love in him their truest representative. They enrich him, and wish that he should live in a style becoming his position and the wealth of the nation. The king has the feelings of a gentleman ; he has his preferences, his antipathies. He has the veto power ; he may dissolve a parliament, or refuse a bill, when things seem to be too much opposed to his views. But he does not govern ; he lets the country govern itself. He rarely follows his inclinations in the choice of his ministers ; he takes Fox, whom he does not like, and Pitt, whom he does ; he takes Canning, whom he does not dismiss, and who dies in office. Chatham, having left the ministry, was still, in the opinion of the Commons, the man necessary for the times. The king

sends Mr. Fox to ask him to take office "Go and tell the king," replies he, "that when he shall send me a messenger more worthy of himself and of me, I will answer so honorable a message." This more worthy messenger is sent, and Chatham becomes the founder of a dynasty of ministers disagreeable to the king and rulers of the kingdom for more than half a century. To reign, then, is not to govern; it is to be the truest, the highest, and the most respected representative of the country. The king is the country under the form of a man."

Meanwhile, government was pursuing its arbitrary course, and at last crowned all its follies by the ordinances of July, 1830, which cost the Bourbons their throne. Thiers took an active part in the events which ended by placing Louis Philippe on the throne, and the young politician was at once admitted into the councils of government. The first office he held was that of Councillor of State in the financial department. Shortly after, he was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies by his native city. In 1832, at the death of Casimir Perier, he became Minister of the Interior. It was during his ministry that the Duchess of Berry undertook her celebrated expedition in La Vendée. Much and well-merited blame has attached to M. Thiers for his conduct at that time. The arrest of the Duchess was undoubtedly an event which all the friends of the new government considered as most fortunate; for with the failure of her undertaking, the hopes of the Legitimist party were crushed until the unexpected events of 1848 revived them; yet it is more than questionable whether the means resorted to by the minister, in order to accomplish so desirable an object, were such as can be justified. Government being extremely anxious to discover the place of concealment of the Duchess, M. Thiers one day received an anonymous note, requesting an interview in a deserted alley of the Champs Élysées, as the writer had important secrets to reveal to him. After some hesitation, M. Thiers went to the rendezvous, and there found a man of the name of Deutz, who offered, on condition of being well rewarded, to assist the government in arresting the Princess. This man had been in the service of the Legitimists, and possessed all their secrets. M. Thiers accepted his offer; and a few days afterwards, Deutz, accompanied by a police officer, left Paris for Nantes, where the

Duchess then was. He there sought an interview with her, during which he again assured her of his devotion to her cause. Hardly had he left the house, however, when it was surrounded by soldiers; the unfortunate Duchess was arrested, and Deutz was rewarded for his base treachery. It would be transgressing our limits to enter into a discussion of the question, how far a government is justified in taking advantage of the crimes of a subject in order to benefit the state; still we cannot but think, that the government which has recourse to such means must always lose something of its dignity, and lower itself in the estimation of the nation.

We cannot follow M. Thiers through all the varied phases of his political life; it would be to write a history of Louis Philippe's reign. Up to the close of 1840, M. Thiers was several times minister, and rendered eminent services to his country. The last cabinet of which he was a member was that of the 1st of March, 1840, during which France was nearly involved in a European war on the Oriental question, one of the most interesting diplomatic problems that had arisen for many years. This is not the place to examine the political course pursued by M. Thiers at that time. We would only say that whatever may be thought of its prudence, it was a patriotic one. The king at first favored it, thinking thereby to acquire popularity; but finding that it would necessarily lead to a war with the great powers of Europe, he abandoned his minister at the eve of the opening of the Chambers, and called to his councils M. Guizot. M. Thiers at once passed to the ranks of the opposition, in which he continued until the downfall of the king, though occasionally defending government measures, such as the regency bill, and the bill for fortifying Paris, when he considered them as important to the maintenance of the throne he had assisted in establishing.

It was a fortunate thing for the reputation of Thiers as an historian, that he should have been obliged to leave the ministry; for he thus acquired leisure to devote himself to the composition of the great work of which we are now to speak. The first volume of the history of the Consulate and the Empire was published in 1845; and the author has found time to publish nine other volumes in spite of the

active part he has taken in the debates of the legislative bodies of which he has been a member. This prodigious activity of mind, and the facility with which he passes from one subject to another, are among his most remarkable qualities. At one time, he may be found defending at the tribune the political doctrines of his party ; at another, maintaining, as in his work on property, the fundamental principles on which society rests. Yet he finds time to collect the materials for his great work, and to continue its composition, not only examining attentively the documents contained in the archives, and innumerable private memoirs, and questioning such of the actors in the memorable scenes which he describes as still survive, but visiting the great battle-fields, Marengo, Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Wagram, etc., of which he has given such admirable and glowing descriptions. From his position both as an eminent politician and a distinguished author, he has, of course, had great facilities for the preparation of his work. Unpublished memoirs, family papers, public documents, all have been alike accessible to him. There are but few published works of high authority on the period which he has treated. Except the Memoirs of Napoleon himself, which of course throw much light on his administration and his campaigns, and those of General Jomini, the Dukes of Gaëta, Rovigo, and Albufera, and the interesting work of Thibaudeau on the Consulate, there has been but little published which could be of much use to any one writing such a work as that of Thiers. But the manuscript memoirs of Jourdan, Macdonald, Davoust, Cambacérès, etc., have been of inestimable value to him.

There is, perhaps, another source, more available than any of those mentioned ; we mean the correspondence of Napoleon with his generals and ministers, or diplomatic agents. Five or six marshals usually commanded an army under his orders, and of course were constantly writing to him to inform him of their movements, to announce an encounter with the enemy, or to give an account of the condition and disposition of the troops under their command. Napoleon, in his answers, expressed his wishes and plans, his opinions, his approbation or disapprobation of what had been done. The same sort of relations existed between the Emperor and the other branches of the administration. Na-

poleon, indeed, was so much in the habit of giving his instructions in writing, that it was only when in presence of the enemy, and when there was danger of any written communication being intercepted, that he gave them verbally. Even when in Paris, he communicated almost entirely in writing with his ministers. He dictated, with astonishing rapidity, sometimes a hundred letters a day, on the most varied topics. As an instance of this, when at Osterode, in Poland, in 1807, he wrote on the same day to the Minister of Police at Paris, concerning those persons whom he was to watch with special care; to Cambacérès about the affairs of the Council of State; to Joseph, King of Naples, and to Louis, King of Holland, on the art of governing new subjects; to Madame Campan on female education; to Murat on the organization of the cavalry; and to M. Berthollet, for whom he had much regard, for the purpose of sending him fifteen thousand francs to enable him to settle his private affairs. There exist in Paris no less than forty thousand letters or orders signed by him. All these documents were kept among his private papers. In 1814, the Bourbons, not knowing what to do with this mass of papers, had them transported to the Louvre, where they still remain. It may readily be imagined what interest they must possess for the historian of that period, and what additional value they must lend to his writings.

Yet, in the hands of an ordinary writer, even such materials would be of little value. Without a master-mind to select and arrange them, to distinguish what is important from the unimportant, to ascertain when credit is to be given to them, or when they are to be rejected as untrustworthy, they would form but an undigested and confused mass, devoid of interest. In order to be made generally useful, they could not have fallen into better hands than those of Thiers. He has become penetrated with the spirit of all these documents, rather than with their details; he never says more than he ought on any subject, and the abundance of his materials never tempts him to overstep the limits of history. The work, indeed, is composed with all the severity which the importance and grandeur of the subject demand. The manner in which the different parts are arranged is admirable. Each book bears the title of the principal event or

subject of which it treats, and around it are grouped with infinite art the minor events or circumstances which have a natural bearing on it. This arrangement is so simple, that, at first, the reader is not aware how much it contributes to the pleasure which the book affords and to the ease with which he reads it. Nothing is easier than to make a general division of a subject according to this method; the great art consists in selecting, among the minor details, those which belong more especially to a certain part of the subject. The art of thus presenting the events which he relates in their most logical order and connection is one of the great merits of this work, and shows at once that the historian has taken a part in the active life of a statesman. It is only by this means that one is enabled to take a comprehensive view of a historical subject, and to see at a glance the relations which exist between its different parts. Any one can be methodical by simply following the external order of events; to be clear and logical, it is necessary that they should be presented in their more philosophical and less apparent connection.

The history of the Consulate and Empire begins at the point where that of the Revolution ended; the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire. The author's only allusion to himself is at the beginning of the work in the following simple words.

"Fifteen years have elapsed since I traced the annals of our first Revolution. Those fifteen years have been passed amidst the storms of public life. I have seen the fall of an ancient throne, the erection of a new one. I have seen the French Revolution pursuing its invincible course. Although the scenes which I have witnessed have caused me but little surprise, I have not the vanity to suppose that I had nothing to learn from the experience of men and affairs. I am confident, on the contrary, of having learnt much, and of being, consequently, more fit to understand and to relate the great things which our fathers did during those heroic times. But I am certain that experience has not chilled within me the generous sentiments of my youth; I am certain that I love as much as I ever did the liberty and glory of France."

It is, of course, not our intention to give an analysis of this work. To do so would be but to present the outline of a

history with which every one is familiar. We may better meet our readers' views by considering one or more of the topics of which it treats. To us, the most attractive portions of this work are those in which questions of internal policy and of diplomacy are treated. The narratives of those great campaigns in which France acquired everlasting renown are admirably written; they present the details of the subject with a clearness and force which could hardly be expected from any but a military man; they not unfrequently are highly eloquent. But however captivating they may be, it is not in them that we seek for the true interest of history. We turn to those portions of the work in which the author explains the internal organization of France, the complicated negotiations which ended in the signing of the Concordat, or the dissensions in the Council previous to the promulgation of the Code Napoleon. In these, the true greatness of Napoleon is revealed. Glorious as was his military career, we believe that he showed more real greatness and power as the legislator and administrator of France, than as the hero of Marengo or Austerlitz. It is often said in disparagement of Napoleon, that he founded nothing. Even M. de Lamartine, in his recent history of the Restoration — if a political pamphlet, written to defeat the ambitious schemes of the President of France, may be called a history — repeats this old and absurd calumny. Of his conquests, nothing, it is true, remains. Like a mighty river, which, after it has overflowed and devastated large tracts of country, is obliged, by that invisible power which said to the waters, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther," to return to its ancient bed, so France, after having overrun the greater part of the European continent, was compelled, by that same power, to confine itself within its former limits. But if nothing is left of the territorial conquests of Napoleon, the internal administration of France, the Code, the many establishments founded by him for scientific or literary purposes, the magnificent buildings which he caused to be erected, still remain as monuments of his genius. As a military man, he probably has had equals. Hannibal, Cæsar, or Frederic may compete with him; but as a man, combining military talents of the highest order with the wisdom of a statesman, a legislator, and a sovereign, he stands alone in the history of the world.

It required, indeed, a genius like that of Napoleon, to reorganize France after the convulsions through which she had passed. When he was appointed First Consul, every thing was in confusion; the country was impoverished, the administration weak and divided, the judiciary badly organized. The first thing to be done, then, was to remedy these evils. Accordingly, as soon as the legislative bodies established by the new constitution had commenced their labors, he proposed to them two bills of the greatest importance, — the one relating to the administration of the country, the other for the reorganization of the judiciary. These bills were passed by a large majority, and thus was established a system which has resisted all the storms by which France has since been agitated. In establishing the new system, Napoleon's object was to form a strong central government, on which the departmental administrations should be almost wholly dependent. The constitution had placed at the head of the state an executive, formed of three consuls, in one of whom all the power was in reality vested; by the side of this executive was the legislative power, divided into several deliberative assemblies. So, at the head of each department, Napoleon placed an executive officer appointed by the government, called a *prefect*, whose duty it was to execute the orders of the general government, and, at the same time, to administer the affairs of the department with the advice and consent of a council elected by the people. Each department was divided into *arrondissements* and *communes*. At the head of each *arrondissement*, composed of a certain number of *communes*, was placed a *sub-prefect*. Finally, at the head of the *commune* itself was a *maire*, dependent, like the sub-prefect, on the prefect, and consequently on the head of the state in all government affairs, but the agent of the *commune* itself, and acting for it, with the advice of the municipal council, in all matters that related exclusively to it. "Such," says M. Thiers, "is the admirable hierarchy to which France owes an administration incomparable for energy and precision in its action, for the accuracy of its accounts, and which is so excellent that it sufficed, in six months, to reëstablish order in France."

It cannot be denied, that, for the object which Napoleon had in view, — that of establishing a strong government, —

nothing could have been more wisely planned than this system. That it should have taken so firm root in the country as to form, at the present day, one of the most serious obstacles to the establishment of a republic which may truly deserve the name it bears, seems to be a strong proof of that admirable knowledge, or rather intuition, which Napoleon possessed, of the wants of the French nation. Yet the pernicious consequences of such a system are too numerous to be overlooked. The whole nation is kept in a state of constant dependence on government. The Minister of the Interior and the Council of State, in fact, decided on all the internal affairs of the various departments throughout France. A mine cannot be explored, a marsh drained, a road laid out, or a factory built, without the authority of the minister and council. The people came at last to look to government for protection and assistance on every occasion; and in order to enable the government to grant such assistance and protection, it is necessary that it should wield a power nearly akin to despotism. For Napoleon's object, this was desirable; but now that France is seeking to establish a republic, this system is found to clash with its desire and to prevent its fulfilment. The system is, indeed, fit only for a monarchical form of government. It commences with the head of the administration, to be called consul, emperor, or king, — it matters little. He is the type to be reproduced through all the different stages of the administrative scale; in the prefect, the sub-prefect, and the mayor. The republican system is entirely different. Instead of commencing with the head of the government, and descending to the inferior executive officers, the republican hierarchy — if we take our own republic as the model — may be said to commence at the bottom of the scale, with the town governments; thence it rises to the state governments, and finally ascends to the chief magistrate. Before a republican government can be firmly established in France, she will have to modify her whole administrative system. These remarks must not be understood as detracting from the merit of Napoleon in organizing the administration as he did; for, as we have already said, nothing could be better conceived for the object which he desired to accomplish.

The reorganization of the judicial system proposed by Napoleon, and adopted by the legislature, is not open to any of the objections we have suggested against the administrative system. In each *arrondissement* was established a court called *Tribunal de première Instance*, from which there was an appeal to a superior tribunal, called the *Tribunal d'Appel*, of which twenty-nine were established. Criminal causes were to be tried by juries, and by one of the judges of the *Cour d'Appel*, thus forming what was called a *Cour d'Assises*. At the summit of the whole judicial system was to be maintained the *Cour de Cassation*, which had already been established. The object of this tribunal was not to try again a cause already tried by the *Tribunal de première Instance*, or the *Cour d'Appel*, but merely to decide, in doubtful cases, whether the law had been properly applied. This system has been maintained in France, with slight modifications, ever since its adoption in 1800, and has been found admirably adapted to the wants of the nation. Several other important laws were at the same time proposed, in order to improve the financial condition of the country ; and, among other measures taken to secure this end, we may mention the establishment of the Bank of France, with a capital of thirty millions.

But we must refer the reader to the work itself, if he would have a complete idea of all the measures adopted at that time, for the purpose of restoring order in a country so thoroughly disorganized as was France after the storms of her Revolution. It is almost impossible to analyze his clear, and at the same time condensed, account of that wonderful period. Napoleon was wise in devoting his first thoughts to the reorganization of the country ; for hardly had the essential measures which he proposed been adopted, hardly had he put an end to the civil commotions which were still raging in Vendée, when war once more broke out. We shall not attempt to follow M. Thiers in his descriptions of the battles of Ulm, Genoa, Marengo, Heliopolis, and Hohenlinden, or in his account of the peace of Luneville, the armed neutrality of the maritime powers, or the negotiations which led to the peace of Amiens, and finally to the general peace of 1801. We cannot, however, resist the pleasure of translating the eloquent passage by which the historian closes the account of the effect produced in England by the news of the peace.

"During this period, unfortunately so brief, the English nation almost thought they loved France; they admired the hero and statesman by whom she was governed; they cried with enthusiasm, 'Long live Bonaparte.' Such is human joy! it is great and deep only when we are ignorant of the future. Let us thank God for his wisdom in closing to the eye of man the book of destiny. How every heart would have been chilled on that day, if the veil which concealed the future had suddenly dropped, and the English and French had seen before them fifteen years of implacable hatred and bitter war, the continent and the seas red with the blood of both nations! How terrified would France have been, if, while she believed herself so great, she had dimly seen in that formidable book of destiny the treaties of 1815! And that hero, victorious and moderate as he was, what would have been his surprise and terror, if, in the midst of his greatest works, he could have foreseen his immense errors; if, in the midst of unmingled prosperity, he could have anticipated his downfall and his martyrdom! Oh yes! Providence has done well, in his impenetrable wisdom, to disclose only the present to man. The present is enough for his weakness. And we, who know all that then happened, and what has since happened, let us try, for a moment, to revive the ignorance of that period, in order to understand and to share its deep emotions."

Having thus made peace with all the temporal powers of Europe, Napoleon turned his attention to the affairs of the Church, and commenced those negotiations which ended by the signing of the *Concordat*, and the reëstablishment in France of the Catholic Church.

"The views of the First Consul on the constitution of society," says our author, in one of the finest passages of his book, "were too just and too profound for him to regard with indifference the religious disorders of France at that period. Every human society needs a religious faith and a public worship. Man, thrown into the midst of this universe, without knowing whence he comes or whither he is going, why he suffers, or even why he exists, what recompense or what punishment is reserved for the long agitations of his life, beset by the contradictions of his fellow-men, who tell him, some, that there is a God, an intelligent and consistent Being, author of all things, others, that there is none; some, that there exists a right and a wrong, which are to serve as the rule of his conduct; others, that there is neither right nor wrong, that they are merely inventions of this world,—man, in the midst of these contradictions, feels the absolute, the irresistible, necessity of forming a firm belief on all these points. Be it

true or false, sublime or ridiculous, he forms one. Everywhere, at all times, in all countries, in antiquity as in modern times, in civilized as in barbarous countries, man is found bowing before some altar. Where an established faith does not reign, a thousand sects, eager for controversy, as in America, — a thousand disgraceful superstitions, as in China, — agitate or degrade the human mind. Or if, as in France in '93, a passing revolution destroys the ancient religion of the country, man, at the very moment when he has taken a vow no longer to have any belief, soon gives himself the lie, and the insensate worship of the Goddess of Reason, established by the very side of the scaffold, proves that this vow was as vain as it was impious. To judge him, then, by his ordinary conduct, man needs a religious belief. What can be more desirable for a civilized society than a national religion founded on the true sentiments of the human heart; according with the precepts of a pure morality; consecrated by time; and which, without intolerance or persecution, may unite, if not all, at least the majority, of the citizens at the foot of an ancient and respected altar. Such a belief cannot be invented, where it has not existed for ages. Philosophers, even the most sublime, may create a philosophy, and agitate, by their learning, the age to which they do honor; they may make you think, they cannot make you believe. A warrior, covered with glory, may found an empire; he cannot found a religion. That, in former ages, philosophers or heroes, by attributing to themselves relations with heaven, have taken possession of the mind of nations, and imposed a belief upon them, may be true. But in modern times, the creator of a new religion would be held as an impostor. Surrounded by terror, like Robespierre, or by glory, like Bonaparte, he would be an object of ridicule. In 1800, there was nothing to invent.

"What could be more necessary than to raise again that altar of St. Louis, of Charlemagne, and of Clovis, for a moment overthrown? General Bonaparte, who would have been ridiculous if he had attempted to appear as a prophet and the teacher of a new revelation, was fulfilling the part which Providence assigned him, by raising with his victorious hands that venerable altar, and by bringing back to it those who for a short time had strayed away. Only such glory as his could have sufficed for such a work. Great geniuses, not only among philosophers, but among kings, like Voltaire and Frederic, had thrown contempt on the Catholic religion, and for fifty years given the signal for scoffing. General Bonaparte, who had as much mind as Voltaire, and more glory than Frederic, could alone, by his example and by his respect, put an end to the mockery of the last century.

"Is it necessary with such motives as those which guided him, to inquire whether he acted from religious faith, or from policy

and ambition? He acted from wisdom; that is to say, in virtue of a profound knowledge of human nature. That suffices. The rest is a mystery which curiosity, always natural with regard to a great man, may seek to penetrate, but which is of little importance. We may, however, say on this subject, that General Bonaparte's moral constitution inclined him towards religious thoughts. A superior mind is struck, in proportion with its superiority, with the beauties of creation. It is intelligence which discovers intelligence in the universe; and a great mind is more capable than a little one of seeing God through his works. General Bonaparte frequently disputed on religious and philosophical subjects with Monge, Lagrange, and Laplace, men whom he honored and loved, and often staggered them in their incredulity by the clearness and original vigor of his arguments. To this we must add, that, brought up in an uncultivated and religious country, under the eye of a pious mother, the sight of the old Catholic altar awakened in him recollections of youth, always so powerful in a lively and great imagination. As for ambition, which some of his detractors have assigned as the sole motive of his conduct on this occasion, he at that time had none other than to do good; and without doubt, if he saw, as a recompense of this good when accomplished, an increase of power, he may well be pardoned for it. The ambition which seeks to found an empire on the satisfaction of the true wants of a people, is the most noble and legitimate ambition."

Of all the plans which the First Consul had formed for the regeneration of France, none was more difficult to realize than this reconciliation with the church. At the time of the adoption of the new constitution, the utmost confusion reigned throughout the country with regard to religion. The Catholic religion was, it is true, tolerated; but the members of the clergy were divided among themselves. Some of them had taken an oath of allegiance to the civil constitution; others had merely sworn obedience to the laws; others, again, had refused all connection with the government. The two former classes alone were allowed to perform mass in the churches; the latter officiated in private houses, and were, by all those who kept up their ancient opposition to all revolutionary governments, regarded as the only true ministers of the Catholic church. To complete the disorder caused by these divisions in the church itself, the sect of the Theophilanthropists had taken possession of the vacant churches, where they performed ceremonies in honor of the various virtues,—courage,

temperance, charity, etc. The frequent imitations of Catholicism to be found in the ritual of that sect, whilst it was striving to establish a new religion, would be simply ridiculous, were it not that the subject is one of such serious importance. Such was the religious state of the country in 1,800. Napoleon resolved to deliver it from this condition. That he should have succeeded in the attempt in spite of the opposition with which his views on the subject were met by the leading men who surrounded him, and who feared, that, by making any compromise with Rome, the government would lose something of its dignity, must be considered as one of his greatest achievements. There was, indeed, no absurd proposition that he was not obliged to listen to and to combat. Some proposed that he should make himself the head of a French church; others advised him to embrace the Protestant faith, and to lead France to Protestantism by his example; others, again, entreated him not to meddle with the religious affairs of the country. Nothing can be more interesting than the discussions of Napoleon, as they are given by Thiers, with those who thus sought to turn him from his purpose. Napoleon was, indeed, the only man in the French government who really wished for the reëstablishment of Catholicism in France. This was well understood at Rome. "Let us not irritate that man," said Cardinal Caprara to the Pope; "he alone is on our side in a country where every one else is against us."

But it was not only in France that the First Consul encountered opposition to the realization of his wishes. The plan which he proposed for the reconciliation of France with the church of Rome was much discussed at Rome itself; and it was not until after long and arduous negotiations, that Napoleon succeeded in having it adopted. He undertook to bring about this reconciliation without sacrificing any of the principles of the Revolution. The clergy was to be reëstablished, not on the same terms on which it had existed prior to '89, but on an entirely new basis. It was to be exclusively devoted to the exercise of its religious functions; it was to have neither political power, nor large domains; its members were to be appointed by the government and confirmed by the Pope; they were to receive their salary from the state. The number of dioceses was to be reduced; the civil authorities were to have the control of public worship;

the jurisdiction over the clergy was to belong to the Council of State. Such were the principal measures proposed by Napoleon. The one which he found it most difficult to prevail upon the Pope to adopt, was that relating to the dioceses. By reducing their number, many of the former occupants of the episcopal sees would be obliged to resign their functions, or to be dismissed by the Pope, — a thing unheard of in the annals of the church. Napoleon, by his indomitable will, gained his point. He had, too, it must be confessed, a great advantage over the court of Rome. Being, as we have said, the only member of the government who favored the reconciliation with the church, he knew that Rome ought to yield to his desires. Nor was this feeling concealed from those with whom he negotiated. One day, during the protracted discussion to which the subject gave rise, growing impatient at some of the demands of the papal legate, "Come, Cardinal Caprara," said he, "do you still possess the power of performing miracles? do you? If so, make use of it; you will render me a great service. If not, leave matters to me; and since I am reduced to human means, permit me to act as I see fit to save the church."

The Concordat was signed on the 15th of July, 1801, but was not finally adopted and ratified until the following spring. On the 18th of April, 1802, the Concordat was solemnly published in Paris, and the first religious ceremony was performed in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame. This great act, — perhaps the greatest which the church of Rome ever adopted, — was thus definitely concluded. To complete the pacification of France, this important measure was followed by the law recalling the banished emigrants. The next subject to which the First Consul turned his attention was public education. A law on this subject was drawn up, and presented to the Council of State, who soon after adopted it. This law, with some modifications, forms the basis of the whole educational system of France as it still exists.

This step closed the long series of measures taken by Napoleon to reorganize France. To recompense him for the services he had rendered the country, the nation resolved to give him a signal mark of its confidence, by appointing him Consul for life, with the power to name his successor. The senate waited on him in a body, to announce to him the new

honor which had been conferred on him. Bowing to the members of that body, he replied in these noble words: —

"The life of a citizen belongs to his country. The French nation wish that the whole of mine should be devoted to them. I obey their will. By my efforts, and by your assistance, citizens, by the confidence and the wish of this great nation, the liberty, equality, and prosperity of France will be protected from the caprices of fate, or the uncertainty of the future. The best of nations will then be the happiest, as it is worthy of being, and its happiness will contribute to that of the whole of Europe. Satisfied, then, with having been called by Him from whom all kings emanate, to bring back on earth order, justice, and equality, I shall hear my last hour strike without regret, and without uneasiness as to the opinion of future generations."

To close this period, the finest in Napoleon's career, and one of the most brilliant in the world's history, we cannot do better than to transcribe the eloquent passage in which our author ends the third volume of his history.

"Now, if, forgetting what has since happened, we imagine for a moment this Dictator, necessary at that time, remaining as moderate as he was great, uniting those opposites which God, it is true, had never before united in one man, — that vigor of genius which constitutes the great Captain, with that patience which is the distinctive characteristic of founders of empires, — calming, by a long repose, French society then so agitated, and preparing it little by little for that liberty, the honor and want of modern society; then, after having rendered France so great, appeasing instead of irritating the jealousy of Europe, changing into a permanent political fact the negotiations of Amiens and Lunéville, and seeking at last, no matter where, the most worthy successor, in order to give into his hands this reorganized France, prepared for liberty, — what man would ever have been equal to him? But such a man, a warrior like Cæsar, a statesman like Augustus, and virtuous as Marcus Aurelius, would have been more than a man; and Providence does not give the world gods to govern it."

ART. III. — *The United States Exploring Expedition. Geology:* By JAMES D. DANA, Geologist of the Expedition. Large 4to. pp. 746. With an Atlas of 21 Plates in folio. New York.

TEN years have elapsed since "The United States Exploring Expedition" returned to our shores; but the publication of the results of its comprehensive and thorough survey of the remotest bounds of the earth is not yet completed. The volume now before us is one of the latest that have appeared, and is certainly not the least important and interesting of the whole series. The wisdom of Congress having limited the printed edition of these invaluable scientific reports to *one hundred copies*, so that, for most practical purposes, they are not published at all, we have endeavored, from time to time, when we could get possession of a copy, to give our readers some account of its contents, being satisfied that they would otherwise have little chance of learning any thing about them. Before considering the results of Mr. Dana's geological investigations, let us briefly survey the field of his labors, that we may form some idea of its magnitude, and of the opportunities afforded him for observation.

The Expedition, which sailed from Norfolk in August, 1838, first made its way to the island of Madeira, a region made classic ground to the geologist by the researches of Von Buch; thence it proceeded to Rio Janeiro, and, after making some stay there, and at the Rio Negro, to Nassau Bay, Terra del Fuego. Here the scientific corps were left to make observations in the vicinity of the Straits of Magellan, during the southern cruise of Captain Wilkes. After his return, the Expedition proceeded to Valparaiso, whence excursions were made to the Cordilleras, and to the mines in the vicinity. Thence the little fleet sailed to Callao, from which point some of the scientific gentlemen visited the Cordilleras, while Mr. Dana was engaged in examining the coast in that neighborhood. From Callao a nearly straight course was made for the Paumotu group of islands; and after the lapse of about one year from the time of leaving home, the first coral island, Clermont de Tonnerre, was seen. Here opened a rich field for investigation, and abundant opportunities for exploration were afforded

to the scientific corps, while the surveying and hydrographical parties were engaged in this group, in the Society Islands, and the Samoan archipelago. After several months spent among the coral islands, the vessels proceeded to Port Jackson, New South Wales, where they were to refit and prepare for another cruise in search of an unknown continent to the south, while the *savans* were left to examine the neighborhood of Sydney, and thence to make their way to New Zealand. After the return of the Expedition from the eminently successful southern cruise, their course was again turned to the island groups of the Pacific. Leaving the Bay of Islands, on the 6th of April, 1840, the Friendly, Fegee, Samoan, Kingsmill, and Hawaiian groups were successively explored during the next year. The Vincennes left the Hawaiian islands on the 5th of April, 1841, for the Columbia river; while the Peacock, to which Mr. Dana was attached, was engaged in farther investigations among the Samoan, Ellices, and Kingsmill groups. After being occupied here for some months, the vessel made the mouth of the Columbia river on the 17th of July, and was wrecked on the bar; by which sad accident, though luckily unattended with loss of life, a valuable portion of the collections was destroyed. From the Columbia river, a party, of which Mr. Dana was one, made its way by land to San Francisco, where they joined the Vincennes on the 24th of October. From the last-mentioned place, the Expedition traversed the Pacific to Manilla, where, as well as in the Sooloo sea, extended observations were made. Thence the fleet, now reduced to the Vincennes and the Oregon, a ship chartered at Vancouvre, made its way home by the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, arriving at New York on the 10th of June, 1842, after an absence of nearly four years.

This sketch of the route traversed by the Expedition will be sufficient to show what an extensive field was opened for research to a corps of enthusiastic explorers. Though, from the nature of the Expedition and its multifarious objects, they could not always command as much time as they desired at those points which appeared to them the most interesting, still the whole course seems to have been judiciously planned and consistently carried out.

The great field of exploration was the Pacific Ocean, that

magnificent waste of waters, covering more than three tenths of the surface of the globe. The islands which dot its surface, though nearly seven hundred in number, would form, if all were brought together, but a mere speck in the vast ocean through which they are actually distributed. Yet, as Mr. Dana remarks,—

"This small area of land presents us with mountains 14,000 feet in height; volcanoes of unrivalled magnitude; peaks, crags, and gorges of Alpine boldness. And amid the wildness and grandeur of these scenes, many of which would well aid our conceptions of a world in ruins, the palm, the tree-fern, and other tropical productions flourish with singular luxuriance. Zoöphytes, moreover, spread the sea bottom near the shores with flowers, and form islands with groves of verdure above, and coral gardens beneath, the water. There is no part of the world where rocks, waterfalls, and foliage are displayed in greater variety, or where the sublime and the picturesque mingle in stranger combinations."

After a few general remarks on the topography of the Pacific, and, especially, the distribution of the islands over its surface, in which he recognizes two great general directions of trend, nearly at right angles to each other, the discussion of the theoretical bearing of which important fact he defers to a later chapter, the author gives a general sketch of the geological constitution of the islands of the Pacific. These are divided into two great classes, the coral and the volcanic; and to one or the other of these belong all Polynesia, excepting New Zealand, Micronesia, and a considerable portion of Melanesia. It is not till we approach the East Indies and Asia, that the islands begin to assume a continental character. In New Zealand, we find granite, slates, and coal; while many of the larger islands of Melanesia resemble, in geological character, Australia and New Guinea. The two great topics, therefore, are the coral formations and the phenomena of volcanoes.

The history of investigation and discovery with regard to the coral islands of the Pacific forms one of the most striking and interesting chapters in the records of geological research. The first description of them was given by Forster, who accompanied Cook on his second voyage, though their remarkable structure had been alluded to by Pyrard de Laval

as early as 1605. The Pacific has been so often visited and described since that time, that, as Mr. Dana remarks, in speaking of the coral islands, "their general features are probably almost as familiar to the reader as the scenes of the lands around us." Yet it was not till within a very few years that a satisfactory theory was framed to account for all the phenomena presented by the various forms of these islands, in connection with the known habits of the coral-forming animals.

Forster, whose observations were published in 1783, and afterwards Flinders, Péron, and others, supposed that the coral-building animals commenced their work at the bottom of the ocean, without regard to its depth, and carried up gigantic walls to the surface. To account for the peculiar form of the *atolls*, or ring-shaped islands inclosing a lagoon, Forster conceived that the coral animals were endowed with a peculiar instinct, by which they were led to build so as to inclose a circular space, within which they might live protected from the action of the waves. This hypothesis, although very generally received for a time, was, on a more careful investigation, found to be wholly untenable. Farther and more careful researches, and especially those of Quoy and Gaimard, who accompanied Captain Freycinet and afterwards Captain Duperrey, and of Darwin, who was attached to the expedition of Captain Fitzroy in the Adventure and the Beagle, proved most satisfactorily, that the coral animals, and especially those which are the principal reef-builders, are rarely found alive at a depth greater than from twenty to thirty fathoms. This fact has been abundantly confirmed; and it is remarked by Mr. Dana, that the observations and extensive soundings of the Expedition show that there is no evidence of growing corals below twenty fathoms. It will at once be seen that this fact must be taken into consideration in any theory of the coral islands, and that it completely demolishes the old hypothesis of Forster. Besides, why should the same animals build only atolls, or annular-shaped islands, in certain regions of the Pacific and Indian oceans, and everywhere else only simple reefs? How can we conceive of a common instinct giving the same plan of action to animals belonging to so many different genera and species, and whose accumulated work is the result of a mere secretive process, not by any means to be compared to that of the bee, which, under the direction of a mechanical

instinct, may truly be said to *build* its cells? Moreover, the idea that quiet water was advantageous or necessary to the growth or protection of the coral animals was quite erroneous. It is now known, that those species which contribute most to the formation of the reefs flourish best in the open ocean, where they are exposed to the full force of the breakers; while the turbid water of the small lagoons is injurious to their development. They require the pure ocean water; and, as they cannot leave their places to search for their food, it must be brought to them by the ceaseless motion of the waves. From all these considerations, it will be seen how unsatisfactory and contrary to the facts was the old theory of the coral islands.

Another hypothesis was first proposed by Steffens, and especially advocated by Lyell, according to which it was assumed that each of the annular accumulations of coral was built up on the rim of the crater of a submarine volcano. Many circumstances seemed to render this view, at first sight, a highly probable one. There are many active volcanoes in the coral region of the Pacific; and numerous volcanic cones, which rise above the water in different parts of the world, are found to have a remarkable analogy of form with the atoll; — for instance, those of Santorin. It was a serious objection to this theory, however, that it required us to believe in the existence of craters sometimes thirty, fifty, or even ninety, miles in diameter, that being the size of some of the atolls; while the largest crater in the world, as far as we know, namely, that of Mokua-weo-weo, the summit crater of Mount Loa, is only two and a half miles in its largest diameter. The fact that all these islands are nearly at the same level, namely, — that of the water, — did not excite surprise, since it was supposed that the coral animals had built up from the submarine volcanic crater, at whatever depth it might be. But, now when we know that these animals cannot live at a greater depth than two hundred feet, at the most, if we adopt this theory, we shall be required to believe that hundreds of volcanic craters arose, within a comparatively small space, to almost exactly the same height, none of them being elevated above the water; which would be contrary to all analogy of what we know of subaerial chains of mountains. Besides, as reefs of dead coral are found at great depths below the sur-

face, it would still be necessary to explain their formation below the line at which the animals by which they were formed must have lived.

This was the state of opinions with regard to the formation of the coral islands, when Mr. Darwin gave to the world his beautiful theory, which so harmoniously links together all the facts, and connects the work of microscopic animals with the great secular changes in the form of the globe itself. To form an idea of this theory, let us conceive of an elevated island within the coral region, which, at the distance and within the space suited to their growth, the coral animals have encircled with a reef. If we suppose the relative level of land and water to remain the same, after a certain period there can be no farther perceptible change in the relative position of the reef and island; the former will remain as a low platform of rock encircling the island, such as is now called a *fringing reef;* since the animals cannot build above the water, nor can they enlarge the base of the structure by extending it into the deeper water beyond its present exterior limits. But now, if we conceive that the island begins gradually to sink, the coral animals will be able to continue their work, being still under water, and to build up at a rate commensurate with the amount of subsidence. It is easy to see, then, that the thickness of the coral will be limited only by the rate and amount of the vertical depression of the base on which the whole superstructure stands. Thus, at different stages of its formation, the coral island will pass from a lofty and precipitous, generally volcanic, island with a fringe of coral, to a central mass with both a fringing and a barrier reef, the latter being the term used to denote a reef encircling the island at some distance from the land; and, finally, when the subsidence has gone so far that the original island has entirely disappeared beneath the waters, there will remain an atoll, or a circular reef, more or less rudely shaped, inclosing a lagoon which marks the site of the drowned island. All of these various forms are found in the limits of the Pacific, and they thus indicate the relative amount of subsidence of the different regions in which they predominate.

It may perhaps be asked, by way of objection to the subsidence theory of Darwin, as it is frequently called, why it is, that, as the island sinks, the space between the coral reef

and the land does not become filled with the growing coral, so as to form a solid plane of coral rock, instead of a ring. It was the opinion of Darwin that this greater increase on the exterior of the reef was due principally to the circumstance that the more rapidly-building species flourish best where they are exposed to the action of the surf. Mr. Dana has well illustrated this point.

"It has been shown that the ocean acts an important part in reef-making; — that the outer reefs, exposed to its action and to its pure waters, grow more rapidly than those within, which are under the influence of marine and fresh-water currents and transported detritus. It is obvious, therefore, that the former may retain themselves at the surface, when, through a too rapid subsidence, the inner patches would disappear. Moreover, after the barrier is once begun, it has growing corals on both its inner and outer margin, while a fringing reef grows only on one margin. Again, the detritus of the outer reefs is, to a great extent, thrown back upon itself by the sea without and the currents within, while the inner reefs contribute a large proportion of their material to the wide channels between them. . . . Owing to these causes, the rate of growth of the barrier may be at least twice more rapid than that of the inner reefs. If the barrier increases twenty feet in height in a century, the inner reef, according to this supposition, would increase but ten feet; and any rate of subsidence between the two mentioned, would sink the inner reefs more rapidly than they could grow, and cause them to disappear. A wide, flat reef, continuous over such extensive reef-grounds, could only be formed with an extremely slow rate of subsidence; and, even then, they would be liable to be cut up by the production of inner currents, destroying growing corals over the interior parts of the coral reef; so that, whatever the rate of subsidence, the inner portions would grow less rapidly."

The general result of Mr. Dana's labors is to prove, most satisfactorily, that the theory of Darwin affords the only satisfactory explanation of all the phenomena of the coral islands, and that it must be received by the geologist and allowed its proper weight in the theoretical discussion of the great secular changes of the globe. It is in this application, that the researches and theoretical views of Mr. Dana are of great importance; but they are deferred by him till after a description of the volcanic phenomena, with which they are so intimately connected.

The distribution of the coral reefs and islands over the surface of the globe is a matter of much interest, and Mr. Darwin had called attention to it as a subject but imperfectly understood. When we look at a chart of the globe on which the coral accumulations are represented, there seems to be a striking want of regularity in their distribution. Thus, we find the whole of the west coast of South America entirely destitute of coral reefs; the same is true of the China sea, and of the coast of Asia bordering on the Indian Ocean. Mr. Dana has discussed this subject with his usual ability, and though his investigations do not clear up all the difficulties, yet they indicate the general causes by which the distribution of the growing coral has been affected. The first and most important circumstance is the temperature of the ocean. From a comparison of numerous thermometrical observations, Mr. Dana has arrived at the conclusion that the coral animals may flourish when the winter temperature does not fall below 66°; and he has drawn upon the chart accompanying his work the boundary of the coral region. From this chart it will be seen, that the width of the coral-reef seas is very variable. It extends over sixty-four degrees of latitude on the Asiatic side of the Pacific, and over only seventeen on the American coast. Besides temperature, the character of the coast has an important influence in modifying or repressing entirely the growth of coral. Thus, if there are rivers bringing down detritus to the sea, and rendering the water turbid and muddy, there can be no coral reefs. So, also, the influence of volcanic agencies in the planting and increase of reefs is abundantly exemplified; and various instances are referred to where submarine eruptions, or heating of the ocean water by volcanic causes, have destroyed the coral reefs or prevented their formation.

It is curious to trace the gradual progress of the coral reef, as it undergoes the necessary changes which are to render it habitable; though it must be confessed that the coral island, however poetical its origin may be supposed to be, is, at best, but a sorry habitation for man. Since the coral animal does not carry up his work above the level of low tide, how is the reef raised above the surface, so that man can find a foothold upon it? The principal agent in this work is the never-ceasing action of the waves, which, dashing against the outer

edge of the reef, gradually dislodge and pile up huge masses of the coral-rock, till the general level becomes, at last, raised above the level of any but the highest tides. The fragments are gradually worn down into a calcareous sand or mud, and are thus carried by the waves, or blown by the wind, and lodged in the crevices of the detrital rock. Calcareous water, filtering through, cements the whole together into a coherent mass. Seeds washed up by the waves, or dropped by birds, are scattered over the surface; and soon the apparently barren plain is covered with verdure. Sometimes a log drifts to the shore; and we learn from Mr. Dana, that such a waif is, on some of the more isolated atolls, considered a direct gift of a propitiated deity. The inhabitants of these islands are never in secure possession of their homes, being always liable to be washed off by heavy storms; for, as their land rises, at most, no more than ten or twelve feet above the sea, it is easily overtopped by the highest waves. A still more terrible devastation is probably sometimes caused by the great earthquake waves, such as have swept the coast of Peru and Chili, and which, rolling over these low islands, would leave not a vestige of man or his works behind them. During the heavier gales, the houses are sometimes tied up to a tree, or to a stake driven into the ground, that they may not be swept away. The cocoa-nut, "the tree of a thousand uses," and the fish easily captured among the reefs, form almost the entire resources of the inhabitants. The number of human beings who succeed in finding the means of living under such circumstances, is very considerable; as we are informed by Mr. Dana, the island of Tapouteouca, the whole habitable area of which does not exceed six square miles, supports a population of 10,000 persons.

Some of the geological applications of the observations among the coral islands, made by Mr. Dana, are of great practical interest. One of the most striking facts mentioned by him is the way in which the coral reef-rock is gradually converted into a solid, compact, homogeneous limestone, often entirely destitute of every appearance of its organic origin. The coral reef has lost its original character over a great portion of its surface, and it is only its exterior which is the proper growth of the living reef. The comparative scarcity of embedded fossils is another interesting fact of the

same character; though formed in the midst of seas swarming with animal life, the coral rock seems, in general, to contain hardly a trace of the remains of organized beings. This is, however, the necessary result of the unceasing grinding action of the waves, by which every thing is reduced to powder, thrown up, and carried inward upon the reef, or spread in strata upon the floor of the ocean. Hence, as Mr. Dana remarks, we cannot be too careful in inferring, from the comparative absence of fossils in any set of strata, that they were deposited in a sea in which nothing organic was living.

The common reef corals consist almost entirely of carbonate of lime; they contain from 90 to 96 per cent. of this constituent. The remainder is principally organic matter, together with one or two per cent. of earthy ingredients, consisting principally of silica, oxide of iron, and phosphates and fluorides of the earthy bases. There is hardly more than a trace of carbonate of magnesia in the growing coral; yet, according to the analysis of Mr. B. Silliman, Jr., some specimens of the coral rock contain a large per centage of this salt. An analysis is given of a specimen of the coral-limestone of the island Matea, in which, according to his authority, 38 per cent. of carbonate of magnesia is contained. This is a highly important fact, and we wish to see it confirmed by other analyses; especially as, in the one given, the magnesia seems to have been determined from the loss.

Besides the phenomena of the coral reefs and islands, there is another field of geological research opened in the islands of the Pacific, which our author has cultivated with equal zeal, and of which the highly interesting results form the second division of his work. We refer to the volcanic agencies exemplified on so grand a scale in that region, which are of especial interest on account of their intimate connection with those greater phenomena of elevation and subsidence, which have given form and outline to the principal features of the earth's surface. The high islands of the Pacific, with the exception of some of the larger ones, are of volcanic origin. The coral islands themselves, although in their visible shape the work of minute polyps, are dependent upon the submarine mountains for their growth, and could not stand in the midst of the deep ocean, did not the

slope of these sunken volcanoes afford them a suitable floor on which to grow and spread.

Although all the archipelagoes which were visited by the Expedition show evident traces of volcanic action; yet the active fires are limited to a few groups, among which that of the Sandwich Islands, or the Hawaiian group, is the most remarkable. Here, again, the volcanic activity seems to be concentrated on one island, that of Hawaii, which has, at the same time, the highest mountains; especially those well-known summits, Mount Kea and Mount Loa, the first of which, according to the measurements of the Expedition, is 13,950 feet in height, and the latter 13,760 feet. The laws of volcanic action were here studied with care by Mr. Dana, and his observations are of great importance, as adding to our knowledge of the nature of this class of phenomena.

The active volcanoes on Hawaii are Loa and Hualalai, no tradition being preserved of any eruption of Mount Kea. The first mentioned of these has, besides its summit crater, another, not less remarkable, vent, Pele or Kilauea, situated at a height of 3,970 feet. Its appearance is thus described by Mr. Dana.

"Kilauea is a deep pit in the sides of Mount Loa. The gentle slopes of the dome in this part scarcely vary from a plain, and the crater appears like a vast gulf, excavated out of the rock-built structure. Although there is no cone, the country around is slightly raised above the general level, as if by former eruptions over the surface; but this is hardly apparent without extended and careful examination."

"The traveller perceives his approach to the crater in a few small clouds of steam rising from fissures not far from his path. While gazing for a second indication, he stands, unexpectedly, upon the brink of the pit. A vast amphitheatre, seven and a half miles in circuit, has opened to view. Beneath a gray, rocky precipice of 650 feet, forming the bold contour, a narrow plain of hardened lava, (the 'black ledge,') extends like a vast gallery around the whole interior. Within this gallery, below another similar precipice of 340 feet, lies the bottom, a wide plain of bare rock, more than two miles in length."

In the bottom of this extraordinary pit-like crater, nothing was to be seen but a few pools, in which the blood-red lava was seen boiling and throwing out jets of liquid matter. One of these pools, although, when compared with the whole

crater, of insignificant size, was found to measure 1,500 feet in diameter. The scene at night is described as one of indescribable sublimity.

"We were encamped on the edge of the crater, with the fires full in view. The large caldron, in the place of its bloody glare, now glowed with intense brilliancy, and the surface sparkled with shifting points of dazzling light, occasioned by the jets in constant play. A row of small basins on the southeast side of the lake were also jetting out their glowing lavas. The broad canopy of clouds above the pit, which seemed to rest on a column of wreaths and curling heaps of lighted vapor, and the amphitheatre of rocks around the lower depths, were brilliantly illuminated from the boiling lavas, while a lurid red tinged the distant parts of the inclosing walls, and threw into deeper shades of darkness the many cavernous recesses. And over this scene of restless fires and fiery vapors, the heavens, by contrast, seemed unnaturally black, with only here and there a star like a dim point of light."

Among the peculiarities of Kilauea, Mr. Dana calls attention to the striking fact of the absence of cinder cones and fragmentary accumulations around the crater; a characteristic difference between this volcano and those hitherto chiefly studied by the geological observer. Etna, Vesuvius, and the South American volcanoes, for instance, are surrounded by a rim of ejected materials, forming a cone, which commonly crumbles down at every great eruption, often changing entirely the appearance of the crater. In the Hawaiian volcanoes, on the contrary, there is very little of the conical shape generally supposed to belong, by necessity, to a volcano. Mount Loa and Mount Kea both rise with gentle and regular slopes of from 5 to 7 degrees, 6° 30′ being the average inclination of Mount Loa, and form great flattened domes, in which the craters are sunk like immense pits.

The absence of cinder cones in these volcanoes is ascribed by Mr. Dana to their more quiet action. To form cinder and scoriæ, the lava must be thrown up to a sufficient height to cool before it falls. Thus, at Vesuvius, cinder is said to be thrown up sometimes to the height of 10,000 feet; and it not uncommonly rises to 1,000 feet, even during the periods of comparative repose. In the lava pools of Kilauea, on the contrary, it appears that the most violent jets do not rise

higher than 60 feet. The ejected matter has not, therefore, time to cool, and, being still fluid when it reaches the bottom, hardens into solid lava instead of forming scoriæ. This interesting fact, that the Hawaiian volcanoes, although possessing craters of such enormous size, are so much more quiet and regular in their action, is thus explained by Mr. Dana.

"It is well known that the more free a fluid is in its motions, the more freely and with the less agitation vapors or gases escape through it. In the more viscid liquid, these rising gases become collected into large bubbles, before sufficient force is gained to break way through; and then the bubble bursts with a force approximately proportioned to its size. The rapidity of their formation will influence somewhat their violence. Increase of force is derived also from a narrow vent, which, by the adhesion of its sides to the fluid, retards the bursting till the bubble has attained a larger size than could form in an open pool; and, besides, a confined space or throat above gives far greater projectile power to the imprisoned vapors, causing, as a necessary consequence, loud reports, and often a trembling of the cone at each explosion. In this manner, the fragments of lava at Vesuvius, Stromboli, and elsewhere, are thrown to so surprising a height, and the cinder-summits of the volcanic cones are formed."

One of the most curious and striking evidences of the greater fluidity of the lava in the Hawaiian volcanoes is the formation of capillary volcanic glass, which goes by the name of Pele's hair, since it is found most abundantly around the crater of Pele, or Kilauea, where it covers the ground to the leeward of the crater, lying in parallel threads, like new-mown grass. This beautiful substance is formed by the action of the wind on the jets of melted lava thrown up from the boiling pools; it bears off small points of the fluid substance, and draws them out into silky fibres. The heavier end gradually sinks, and the wind carries over the lighter capillary extremity.

As a natural consequence of this greater fluidity, we must consider the quiet mode of eruption which is peculiar to the Hawaiian volcanoes. It is, perhaps, difficult to conceive of a great volcanic eruption without noise and earthquakes; yet it appears that the latter are not a necessary attendant on the former. The first intimation to the inhabitants in the vicinity of Mount Loa of an eruption may be the actual presence

of the mass of lava bearing down upon them, almost without a murmur or sound.

The cause of this great fluidity of the lava of these volcanoes is either their comparatively high temperature, or their chemical composition. Farther experiments to determine the temperature of the fluid lava, and a more extended and minute series of analyses of the volcanic products of these islands are needed before this question can be settled. We incline strongly, however, to the belief that a careful study of the mineralogical and chemical character of the lava of Kilauea will show that the ingredients are so combined as to form, when fused, a highly liquid slag. The entire absence of alumina in several of the varieties examined by Mr. Silliman, as well as the presence of a very large amount of soda, would seem to indicate a very different composition from that of the products of Vesuvius, Hecla, and other well-known volcanoes.

The origin of the eruptions is considered to be the formation of vapor, which, being generated within the volcanic conduit, expands the molten lava and forces it upwards, till it escapes, just as the liquid flies from the opening of a bottle of soda-water. The origin of the vapor has generally been supposed to be the water of the ocean, which finds access to the heated lava; and the circumstance that most volcanoes are situated in the vicinity of the sea, either on islands or near the shores of the continents, is generally adduced as a proof of the correctness of this theory. Mr. Dana, however, thinks that there is reason for attributing a large part, if not the whole, of the action of water to points near the surface, — in fact, to the fresh waters of the land. In making this assumption, he relies strongly on the highly important fact, "that there is no sympathy between the action of Kilauea and the summit crater of Mount Loa, situated 10,000 feet higher, thus showing that their conduits are separately operated on." Moreover, the different pools in the crater of Kilauea do not act in unison with each other, since the lava may rise and overflow in one, while it sinks a hundred feet in another; and eruptions even take place over the top of the walls of the crater, six hundred feet above its floor. As a proof that it is not necessary to call in the aid of the water of the ocean, Mr. Dana remarks

that fresh water is always found on boring near the sea-shore, and at no great depth. On a coral island, for instance, it is not necessary to dig more than ten feet, at a distance of a hundred yards from the beach, before finding water. Nearly all the water which falls as rain, and that which is produced by melting snow, is absorbed by the porous rocks; and, according to Mr. Dana's views, it finds its way to the ignited matter below.

We must confess some hesitation in adopting so small and insignificant a cause of so gigantic a phenomenon as the eruptions of the Hawaiian volcanoes, especially when we consider the limited area of the land itself. To ascribe the eruptions to the surface water, is to make them dependent in some considerable degree upon atmospheric changes; and we should naturally expect to find some relation between the action of meteorological and volcanic phenomena; for instance, an increased activity of the volcano during the rainy season, or freedom from eruptive action in regions where no rain falls; which, as far as we know, has never yet been pointed out. On the other hand, we fully recognize the many difficulties which present themselves in whatever light we attempt to look at the phenomena of volcanic action, and acknowledge the weight of the objections to the theory of Bischof and others, that the great agent is the access of the waters of the ocean to the central fires of the globe. We believe, however, that Mr. Dana does not sufficiently consider the nature and amount of the gases which must be generated within the ignited interior of the earth, and perhaps even in the conduit of the volcano itself, and which are poured out in such immense quantities by volcanoes, both during eruptions and in periods of comparative repose. In the present state of our theoretical knowledge with regard to these phenomena, the facts developed by Mr. Dana are of high importance, and they must be allowed their full weight in the decision of the many important questions connected with this interesting subject.

In conformity with the principle just discussed, Mr. Dana repels the idea that volcanoes are in any respect safety-valves for the region where they are situated, on the ground that an action so deep-seated as that of the earthquake could never find relief in the narrow channels of a volcano. The two

craters of Mount Loa are presented as arguments in favor of this view. They are but a few miles apart; the one, as before remarked, being at a height of 3,970 feet, the other, at the summit, at a height of 13,760 feet; and yet Kilauea, in spite of its immense size, does not prevent the lava from being thrown out at a height of 10,000 feet above.

"If lava may be ejected from the very lip of Kilauea, 1,000 feet above its bottom, while the pools are still boiling below, Kilauea, notwithstanding its extent, the size of its great lakes of lava, and the freedom of the incessant ebullition, is not a safety-valve that can protect even its own immediate vicinity. How, then, with so limited a protecting influence, can it relieve from danger a neighboring island? Nothing can be farther from the truth, however popular the opinion, or however supported by authority. Volcanoes are, in fact, indexes of danger, and the absence of them is the best security. They point out those portions of the globe which are most subject to earthquakes, and are the results of the same causes that render a country liable to such convulsions."

We agree entirely with Mr. Dana, that volcanoes are indexes of danger; but the instances are so numerous in which a long series of earthquakes has been suddenly stopped by an eruption of a neighboring volcano; or, *vice versa*, the cessation of volcanic action has been the signal for the commencement of subterranean convulsions, that we cannot but consider the idea of *safety-valves*, which has come down to us from the time of Strabo, and which even the South American Indians, as well as the most illustrious physicists, have recognized, as founded in nature, though there may be some apparent exceptions to the rule.

As to the first origin of the volcanoes of the Pacific, there can be little doubt, from their position with regard to each other, that they were occasioned by fissures along certain lines, indicated by the direction of the different archipelagoes. We have already alluded to the fact, that the coral islands are nothing but sunken mountain chains. In this view, the many volcanoes, either extinct or active, are to be considered as vents through which the lava continued to boil up, after it had ceased to flow from the fissures themselves. The consequence of such a continued ebullition will necessarily be, to widen the boiling pool and to give it a circular form. It will become surrounded by a rim of compact lava, cinder, or

tufa, and a cone will gradually be formed, of which the angle of inclination varies with the different circumstances under which ejections take place. The cone, small at first, goes on gradually increasing by overflowings from the summit, and by the intrusion of wedge-like masses into the ruptured sides, till at last it becomes a mountain. With regard to the rapidity of formation of lava cones, Mr. Dana remarks that it would require one hundred and sixty such eruptions as that of Mount Loa in 1840, to cover that mountain with a layer of twelve feet in thickness; and from this fact, he computes that, allowing the eruptions always to have taken place with the same frequency as now, a period of 400,000 years would be required for the formation of that part of the mountain which stands above the sea.

From his examination of the volcanic action of the Pacific, Mr. Dana infers this to be the normal method of the formation of volcanoes, thus rejecting the *elevation*-theory of Von Buch, which had been very generally adopted; and he enters somewhat in detail into the consideration of the circumstances which seem to him to indicate that the general application of that theory to the formation of volcanic mountain cannot be sustained by facts. We cannot here enter into a discussion of the subject, on which so much has already been written by the most distinguished geologists. Eminent observers having arrived at very different conclusions, after a careful examination of the same volcanic region, it seems hardly reasonable, at present, to look for unanimity of opinion on any theory. With what patience and care has the structure of Etna been investigated, and how discordant are the theoretical opinions which have been formed upon the subject! Messrs. Dufrenoy and Elie de Beaumont, in a series of elaborate memoirs upon the structure of this volcano, have advocated the views of Von Buch, while Mr. Lyell and M. Constant Prévost have arrived at conclusions diametrically opposed to the elevation theory. And recently, Professor Von Waltershausen, who has devoted eight years to the most detailed examination of this one volcano, who has given to the world as the result of his labors a work unrivalled for elaborateness of detail and beauty of execution, and who, to complete his researches, even made a journey to Iceland, in order to examine the volcanic phenomena there

displayed on so grand a scale, has declared to the French Academy, that "his views with regard to the formation and structure of volcanoes, and especially the theory of elevation, coincide in all essential points with those of M. de Beaumont." This opinion, based, as it is, on so minute and conscientious an examination, we cannot but regard as entitled to great weight. While, therefore, we coincide with Mr. Dana in his views as to the possibility of the formation of a volcanic mountain by successive overflows, and without the aid of an elevatory force acting from beneath, we must regard the accumulation of evidence on which the theory of Von Buch is supported as too great to be so easily set aside as it is in this volume. That Von Buch may have erred in the application of his theory to explain the detailed structure of localities which he had never visited, and may, as is his wont, have indulged in too sweeping generalizations, we are not disposed to deny; but that his views have a sound and philosophical basis, and are strongly supported by mathematical reasoning, seems to us clear and undeniable.

It is a fact well worthy of notice, that the Pacific, so remarkable for the number and size of its volcanoes, (most of which, however, are now extinct, and which must have been in former times the seat of unparalleled volcanic activity, should at the same time exhibit the greatest amount of subsidence. The question as to the bearing of the phenomena of volcanic action and subsidence upon each other is one of great interest, and the attempt to solve the problem forms one of the most interesting chapters in the work before us. Mr. Dana starts from the idea, now so generally adopted by geologists, and which forms, in fact, the basis of all geological science, that our globe was once in a state of igneous fluidity, the exterior of which, by gradual refrigeration, has become a solid crust. This crust, as the cooling process goes on, tends constantly to contract, and to be drawn towards the centre of the globe; — a tendency which is constantly opposed by the rigidity of the newly formed crust. The result of this struggle between two opposing forces is to produce fractures and displacements of the hardened crust, the position of which will depend on the rate of cooling of the different parts of the sphere. Suppose now, that, from some cause or other, certain portions of the earth's surface should cool before

others; they would, being thicker, resist more effectually the contracting tendency; while those regions which cooled more slowly would, from their comparative thinness, give way more readily, and at the same time be more exposed to the convulsions occasioned by the internal fires. In other words, they would be at the same time the areas of subsidence and of volcanic activity. Now, it is shown with great force by Mr. Dana, that the interior of the continents must have been, at a very early period in the geological history of the globe, free from volcanic action. Throughout the whole interior of America, we find hardly any evidence of such action; at least, none since the epoch of the deposition of the New Red Sandstone. The volcanoes are, almost without exception, situated along the coasts or on islands. If we look, for instance, at the Pacific, we find that almost every island bears the marks of volcanic agencies. The same may be said of the Atlantic, since the Azores, Cape Verde, and Canary islands are all volcanic. It may, therefore, be fairly assumed from these premises, that the actual continents, or higher parts of the earth's surface, represent those portions of our globe which cooled first; while the intermediate portions, which cooled less rapidly, exhibit the greatest amount of subsidence; just as a lead or iron ball is often found to have its surface depressed on the side which cooled last. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to say that the continents have been elevated; they are negative elevations, or those portions which have been less depressed than others. These depressions are, of course, the reservoir of the oceanic water, and, according to Mr. Dana's views, must have been so from the beginning.

It has been abundantly proved by the observations of Messrs. Darwin and Dana, that there has been a subsidence in the Pacific to the amount of several thousand feet. If this subsidence was gradual, as these investigations would lead us to believe, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the elevation of the continents was also gradual, and not the result of a series of paroxysmal movements. Indeed, a section through any one of the continents will show, that, from the beginning, the amount of dry land has been increasing, although oscillations have taken place, in consequence of which, regions previously dry have been submerged again;

these, however, have not affected the general result. If we admit a gradual deepening of the oceanic basin, it follows that the area of dry land was less extensive when the water was shallower; since we have no reason to suppose that there has been any considerable change in the volume of the oceanic waters. The increase of the dry land is proved, beyond a doubt, by the investigation of geologists all over the world; and to account for it, it is not necessary to assume that the great depressions of the ocean have changed their places, or that continents have suddenly sunk.

Assuming, with Mr. Dana, that the oceanic basins are the regions of greatest contraction, we are naturally led to the inference, that the process of deepening is still in progress, and must go on as long as the contraction of the globe continues. Thus a continuous tension has been kept up from all time, the immediate consequence of which has been to cause fractures throughout the subsiding area. At the same time, it is evident that the disrupting and elevating force would produce the most marked effects on the borders of the region undergoing depression, where the tension would act with the greatest mechanical advantage, and an immense lateral pressure would be exerted. Now, we have only to look at the borders of the continents, to become satisfied that these very effects have taken place.

"Foldings, dislocations, and lofty elevations are common in the vicinity of the oceans, and make a crimpled border to the great oceanic basins. The volcanoes of the globe extend in lines generally along the same region, and metamorphic and volcanic action have often been most rife on the oceanic side of the lofty mountain elevations bordering the sea. Illustrations of this fact have been pointed to in North America, whose interior is, to a great extent, a region of scarcely disturbed stratification, while on one side rise the Rocky Mountains, a lofty border to the Pacific, and on the other, the Appalachians, a corresponding border to the Atlantic; and the volcanoes of the former region, as well as the metamorphic changes and foldings of the latter, are on the *oceanic* side of the mountains; moreover, the direction and steeper west than east slopes of the Appalachian folds are just what lateral action over the Atlantic should produce. The Andes also have their volcanic action and principal dislocations on the side towards the neighboring ocean. We observe, too, that the largest ocean, the Pacific, is encircled by volcanoes, the

lines extending from New Zealand, by the Philippines, Japan, and Kamschatka, around by the Aleutian archipelago to Northwest America, and south by the Andes to Terra del Fuego; and recent discoveries have shown that Deception island is not the only volcanic region on the southern border of this ocean."

In thus connecting the elevation of mountain chains with the subsidence of the great oceanic areas, Mr. Dana has presented an entirely new view of the architecture of the globe, and one which, by the magnitude of its generalizations, and by the strong array of facts by which it is supported, commends itself to the attention of every geologist. In connection with this subject, we would further call the attention of the reader to another important chapter in the work, entitled "General Arrangement of Land in the Pacific." The views here laid down are, as far as we know, entirely new, and are deduced chiefly from the author's own observations. It is shown, first, that the islands of the Pacific are arranged in lines, and this arrangement, (which is very conspicuous on the chart accompanying the volume,) is ascribed to the opening of fissures during the subsidence of that region. From the very nature of the earth's crust, which is a brittle material of unequal thickness, and by no means of uniform texture, it is not to be expected that such ruptures should be continuous for long distances; and Mr. Dana shows, from a number of examples, that they usually consist of a series of rents, which are often largest at one extremity. These fissures are not arranged in straight lines, but in advancing and receding series, so as to give rise to distinct curves, of which many striking instances are pointed out in the various island groups of the Pacific, and the adjacent continents. Thus it is shown, that the great central chain of the Pacific islands, 6,000 miles long, represents a simple curvature, the convex side of which is towards the southwest. The Aleutian archipelago, 600 miles in length, has a strong convexity towards the ocean. So, too, in eastern Asia, the courses of the mountain chains, as well as the coast-lines, are convex towards the Pacific. But Mr. Dana carries his generalizations still farther, and endeavors to trace, over the entire surface of the globe, two great systems of trend of the lines of coasts as well as of islands, which are nearly at right angles to each other; and on these, he conceives that the

forms of continents are mainly dependent. Our limits do not allow us to go into the details of the facts which are adduced in support of these bold generalizations; but it must be confessed, that the instances of parallelism with one or the other of the two systems, the northeastern or the northwestern, are numerous and striking. The cause of this simplicity and uniformity of arrangement of the great features of the globe is sought for by Mr. Dana in the distribution of the lines of equal magnetic intensity, and in their agreement with those of equal heating or cooling, which together would originate a crystalline structure in the gradually consolidating crust of the globe, producing lines of easy fracture or cleavage, according to the arrangement of the mineral ingredients of the crystalline rocks.

This conformity in the direction of the principal lines of coast and of mountain chains, both continental and submarine, does not by any means imply the contemporaneous elevation of parallel chains, or that they are referable to the same epoch. On the contrary, the very cause to which they are referred leads directly to the inference, that they have, in part, a very remote origin. Indeed, if the areas of subsidence exert a lateral tension, then this force must have been acting from all times; and whenever this tension has been overcome, new lines of fracture have been caused and new mountains raised. The violence of the disruption and the amount of elevation would be in proportion to the resistance opposed by the continental masses. And here we have a clue to the fact, that the most recent mountain chains are the most elevated, having been raised at a period when the earth's crust was consolidated to a greater depth, and therefore capable of greater resistance.

At the close of the chapter in which these subjects are discussed, Mr. Dana remarks "that the reader will not fail to observe that the facts, as well as principles deduced, accord in no respect with the hypothesis of M. Elie de Beaumont, that the direction of a mountain chain is an index of its age." We must confess that this seems rather a rude throwing down of the gauntlet to the great champion of the parallelism of mountain chains of the same geological age; and while we would not detract from the merit of the brilliant generalizations, and the ingenuity with which they are sup-

ported by our author, we would suggest that it is more easy to sketch out a theory in this department, than it is to place it on a basis of mathematical certainty. Let any one examine the various theories which have been framed to explain the physical structure of the surface of the globe; let him read the elaborate attempts of Sickler, Boucheporn, Pissis, Hauslab, and others, to reduce this class of phenomena to some great general principle; and he will see how, starting from principles widely different, they have been able to support their peculiar views by such an amount of evidence as to astonish, and perhaps even to convince, the superficial examiner. He will be obliged to confess that the theorist in this department of geology has a dangerous and seductive field opened before him, in the investigation of which he must proceed with caution. It is from this point of view that we look with the highest respect on the labors of M. de Beaumont, who has devoted so many years to the collection of facts and the arranging of them upon a mathematical basis, till a mass of evidence has accumulated under his hands, which begins to weigh with almost irresistible force. The fact that M. de Beaumont's views, in spite of the searching scrutiny to which they have been subjected, have been gradually extending themselves among geologists, in some instances almost against their will, shows that there must be some truth at the bottom of the idea of the parallelism of contemporaneous elevations, even if it should prove to be more limited in its application than recent investigations seem to indicate.

From the archipelagoes of the Pacific, we pass to the Australian continent and the surrounding islands. The geological character of New South Wales seems to be monotonous in the extreme. The prevailing rock is a kind of sandstone, which occurs, apparently, over a large portion of New Holland, and which, in connection with the situation of this semi-continent, as Mr. Dana calls it, within the desert latitudes of the globe, renders the soil peculiarly dry, and the whole appearance of the country in the highest degree uninviting. This sandstone is associated with coal, the working of which, however, seems thus far to have been attended with some difficulty, owing to the softness of the rocks. A large quantity of organic remains have been found in this

coal, although the number of species is comparatively small. With the exception of a single fossil fish, they all belong to the vegetable kingdom; but it is remarkable, that, among them, there are found but few of the arborescent ferns which characterize the carboniferous strata of Europe and North America; the prevalent species are small ferns, equisetacea, and remains of coniferæ allied to our pines.

Basalt occurs in many parts of New South Wales, and we are informed that some of the cliffs of this rock in the vicinity of Kiama will bear comparison with those of Staffa. This rock often occurs in layers which alternate with the beds of sandstone, having the same dip and bearing with them, thus showing conclusively that they are formed by the overflowing of the igneous rock while in a state of fusion, before the overlying strata of sandstone were deposited, and not as the result of intrusion.

From Australia, after giving a glance at the geology of the Philippines, the Sooloo islands, Deception island, and Madeira, all of which are of volcanic origin, our author proceeds to the western coast of South America. Here his attention was especially turned to the granitic rocks; and those especially interested in the study of this class of rocks will find in this part of the work a valuable addition to our knowledge of the structure of the granite of the Andes, and its passage into the manifold varieties of sienite, porphyry, and other allied rocks, as also of the structure and origin of veins in these rocks.

The coast of Peru is lined by a formation of argillaceous sandstone, which our author refers to the Oolitic period. From his observations, as well as those of D'Aubigny and Tschudi, it seems that this portion of the secondary formation, which is so scantily represented in North America, occupies a considerable area in the southern half of the American continent.

We would also mention the occurrence, in the vicinity of Callao, and on the neighboring island of San Lorenzo, of a layer of recent shells, some four or five feet in thickness, and about eighty feet above the sea. Darwin, by whom this fact was first observed, considered it of importance, as indicating a recent elevation of the coast. Mr. Dana, however, is inclined to consider these shells as affording no positive proof

of such an elevation, since they are not deposited in regular layers, but merely spread out just beneath the soil. He supposes that they were carried to their present situation by the natives, which supposition is confirmed by the fact that Peruvian ware, thread, &c., are found among them. The idea is thus very naturally suggested, that heaps and beds of shells in the neighborhood of the sea may often have owed their elevated position to human hands rather than to any elevation of the soil on which they are found, and that too careful an examination of such supposed cases of upheaval cannot be made, before referring them to this cause.

The concluding chapters of Mr. Dana's work are devoted to the description of a region which, at the time of the expedition, was but little known, though it has since become of immense importance, and a throng of emigrants are now hastening to it from every quarter of the globe. It is hardly necessary to say that we allude to Oregon and Northern California. The main features in the physical geography of the whole country on the Pacific side of the Rocky Mountains are dependent on the arrangement of the lines of mountains which stretch through the country, nearly parallel with the coast and with each other. There are three of these ranges, the Coast Range, the Cascade Range, at a distance of 150 miles inland, and the Blue Mountains, which are 350 miles from the sea, and eight or nine thousand feet in elevation. The consequence of this arrangement is to divide the country into three distinct regions, and at the same time, to give a remarkable expansion and length to its river basins.

The rocks which compose these mountain chains appear to be, almost exclusively, crystalline, being either eruptive, plutonic, or metamorphic. Granite, porphyry, sienite, &c., are of frequent occurrence; and there are also found associated with these rocks some ancient sandstones and conglomerates, the age of which has not been ascertained, since no fossils have been detected in them; but, in all probability, they belong to a very remote epoch. Basaltic and recent igneous rocks are common in Oregon, and many a frosted peak attests the former activity of volcanic fires in that region. There is but little doubt that the high peaks of the Cascade Range, such as Mounts Baker, Rainer, Hood, and

St. Helen's, once formed a line of volcanoes through the whole extent of Oregon, and far into California. Some of these are said to have shown evidence of activity within the last few years; and Col. Fremont states positively, that, on the 23d of November, 1842, ashes were ejected by St. Helen's. According to Dr. Pickering, the rocks at the base of this mountain are cellular, basaltic lavas; and similar volcanic productions are found at the foot of Mount Hood. Obsidian, a volcanic glass, is said to occur in some parts of the Shasty region; and the Shasty Indians use it for their arrow-heads, which they work with great skill.

The basalts often form a series of layers, from fifteen to fifty feet in thickness. Such beds, piled one upon another, form the palisades of the Columbia river, which are bluff, like those of the Hudson, and are about two hundred feet in height. The isolated columns, tabular summits, and mural walls of this rock give a peculiar and highly picturesque character to the scenery of the valley of the Columbia.

Among the sedimentary rocks of Oregon, may be mentioned a large deposit of tertiary shale, which occurs in various places, from Puget's Sound to San Francisco. They were first noticed in the vicinity of Astoria, where they attain a thickness of one thousand or twelve hundred feet. How far they extend into the interior has not yet been determined. From the fossils imbedded in them it was inferred, by Mr. Conrad, that they belong to the era of the Miocene, or middle tertiary. Secondary formations seem to be entirely wanting on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains.

The drift deposits of Oregon and California deserve particular notice, on account of their extent, and because they contain a vast amount of gold. Every river has its bottom-lands, which lie commonly in two separate plains, known as the upper and lower prairies. Mr. Dana has given a number of sections, illustrating the position, width, and height of these terraces along the various rivers. The most interesting are those of the Sacramento, which have become so famous from their almost fabulous supply of gold. These terraces have afforded the author an opportunity of discussing their origin, which, according to his view, must be due to one or the other of two causes; either lakes have existed along the rivers, and have burst their barriers, or else the rivers have

excavated their beds in consequence of the elevation of the country. The supposition that lakes might have been occasioned by the sudden elevation of a barrier across the river valley, is rendered somewhat plausible by the circumstance that the ranges of heights run parallel with the coast. But when we come to apply this hypothesis to the Sacramento valley, the difficulties become very obvious. The terraces occur at a distance of at least 150 miles from the sea, and they preserve, throughout this distance, nearly the same relative height above the river. The only place where a barrier could have existed is at the Caquines Straits, near the bay of San Francisco; and it would require a barrier of at least four hundred feet in height to set the water back, so as to cover the upper terrace at a distance of 150 miles above. Moreover, on the supposition that the valley was once occupied by a lake, the terrace ought to decrease gradually, and, when the river bed had reached the height of four hundred feet, die out entirely, instead of maintaining a constant height along its whole course. Mr. Dana concludes that these terraces are the proper effect of river floods, and must be taken as indicating a change of level in the country. The effect of such a rise of the land may be understood by considering the changes which would take place during the elevation of a region of alluvial flats.

"If a country rise abruptly, the river will commence to work itself to a lower level, and proceed with rapidity, ending finally in attaining the very gradual slope of ordinary rivers, a descent of one or two feet to the mile. At the same time, in the season of floods, the river would wear into the former alluvium, (now its banks,) and widen its surface; and this widening would go on at every successive freshet till the river had a new *lower* plain on its borders."

The same effect takes place, according to Mr. Dana, during a gradual rise of the land; and he considers the existence of terraces in an alluvial region as being by no means certain evidence of an *abrupt* rise of the country. We trust that a sufficient number of accurate observations on the terraces east of the Rocky Mountains will soon have accumulated, so as to allow a general survey of their connection with each other in different parts of the country to be made. We fully believe, with our author, that they point to a grand

geological phenomenon, in which the whole continent was concerned, and, that if properly studied, they would throw a new light on the most recent geological changes which have been in progress throughout the globe.

Finally, Mr. Dana calls our attention to a most striking feature of the coast of Oregon, — the complexity of its outline, and the narrow channels which cut into it to a great depth, like artificial canals, and which so strongly resemble the *fiords* of Norway, (a name which has been adopted by our author, and is applied by him to similar channels all over the world.) The fiords of the Northwest coast occur from the mouth of the Columbia to the Russian settlements in lat. 60°; and form, in many places, an irregular net-work of canals, in which the water is very deep, — so much so, that large vessels may graze the rocky shore with their sides, without touching the bottom with their keels.

Whoever, after having coasted along the flat and monotonous shores of the German Ocean, makes his way northward to the Norwegian coast, will not fail to be struck with these narrow and intricate channels, which penetrate so deeply into the land. If at all accustomed to inquire into the causes which determine the physical outlines of a country, he will not fail to recognize, in this peculiar character of the coast line, the action of some great general cause. The same impression was made on Mr. Dana when visiting the northwest coast of this continent. It occurred to his philosophical mind, that fiords are not limited to a few coasts, but are common to the higher latitudes all over the world, while they are almost entirely wanting in the torrid and lower temperate zones. Thus, along the west coast of America, they abound to the north of 48°; and to the south, in lower Patagonia and Terra del Fuego, south of 48°, there are similar passages intersecting the land, and often cutting it into islands. But between these limits, the coast has few deep bays, and still fewer of these channel-like indentations or fiords. On the eastern coast of this continent, we observe the same general fact. To the north of the equator, the coast is singularly even in its outline, till we reach latitude 43°, when, as may be seen on a good map, fiords become very numerous on the coast of Maine, and exhibit deep and winding ramifications when we get as far north as Greenland.

The same may be said with regard to the eastern continent. The coast of Norway, so deeply indented, is a singular contrast to that of France or Spain. Southern Africa does not reach below the parallel of 35°, and has a simple outline throughout.

The origin of these fiords becomes, therefore, an interesting inquiry. There are but three causes by which they can have been formed; either they must have originated from subaqueous or subaerial denudation, or they must have been the result of rupturings of the earth's crust. After a careful discussion of the subject, Mr. Dana arrives at the conclusion that they must be the result of subaerial denudation. Indeed, we readily agree that the sea is incapable of excavating such valleys in its coasts. We need only take a trip to Kennebec or Saco bays, to be convinced that the waters within have the quietness of an inland stream, and rise and fall with the tides without commotion. These channels, therefore, are not increasing in depth by the action of the sea. If the fiords, then, are the result of subaerial denudation, it follows that the land must have been at a higher elevation above the sea when subjected to this erosion, and that the fiords were once the valleys of the land. Now, let us suppose any mountainous country to subside, till its flat, alluvial region along the coast is submerged ; then its long valleys will necessarily become so many fiords. This is illustrated by reference to some of the islands of the Pacific ; it is shown, by Mr. Dana, that Mangareva, one of the Gambier islands, with its long projecting points, and deep bays between, exactly resembles what Tahiti would become if submerged to the same extent.

The question how this extensive denudation was effected, whether by the agency of currents of water, or by glaciers, remains a fruitful subject of discussion. In the mean time, we agree with Mr. Dana, "that there is abundant evidence presented by the fiords, that there has taken place a change of level on our globe, which has affected many regions north of the parallel of 45° or 50°, while, south of this latitude, this change was experienced, if at all, to a less and less degree as we approach the tropics. It indicates the probable subsidence of the surface of our earth towards the higher latitudes, while, about the equator, if there has been any

corresponding change, it has been an elevation. Perhaps it is for this reason that the great chain of America is highest in the equatorial regions, and diminishes in altitude towards either pole."

We cannot avoid recognizing the intimate connection between the causes which have originated the fiords, and those to which the accumulations of the northern drift, and the attendant scratching and polishing of the rocks, are to be ascribed. The fiords are confined to those regions where the drift phenomena are most conspicuously displayed; and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that they belong to the same geological epoch, and are the result of the same great causes.

We have thus passed rapidly over Mr. Dana's book, endeavoring to lay before the reader a sketch of some of the most important topics which are discussed in it. We regard the work as eminently suggestive in its character, and abounding in theoretical views of great originality and importance. The peculiar opportunities afforded by such a voyage as that of the Exploring Expedition are such as few geologists can expect to enjoy; and we rejoice that they have been given to one so eminently fitted to derive the greatest amount of instruction from them. The results here presented are commensurate in magnitude and importance with the field in which they were obtained.

ART. IV. — *Lives of the Queens of Scotland, and English Princesses connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain.* By AGNES STRICKLAND. Vols. I. & II. New York: Harpers. 1851. 12mo.

MISS STRICKLAND has done English literature good service by the publication of her Lives of the Queens. She has, with great industry and love, restored many old portraits from the dust and coloring of age which had long rested on them. She is no very great artist herself; but she cleans the picture, and brings out forms and features with a good deal of truth and dis-

tinctness. Her historical figures move before us in the costume appropriate to their age; they speak their own quaint phraseology; and from these peculiarities we receive a clearer and more impressive idea of the persons and things of past times, than we ever got from the graver annals in which the style is all the same, and the story of Egypt, Greece, and Rome is told like a story of France, Germany, or England. In reading the authentic documents which she places before us, we can understand the charm which Sir Walter Scott found in the careful study of such things, and the peculiar coloring which they imparted to his style. Thierry and Macaulay have successfully imitated his example, and thereby rendered history as attractive as romance.

The first of these biographies is that of Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. and Elizabeth Plantagenet of York, — a couple who united the two Roses of England, and made them grow upon one stalk. The children of this happy marriage certainly manifested as much hot blood as if they had inherited all the angry passions which were quieted by the union of their parents.

At her birth, in 1489, Margaret was destined for the King of Scotland by her father, — a shrewd speculator, who meant to bring about by a marriage what the Plantagenet Edwards could not effect by the sword,— the lapse of the Scottish crown into the English succession. During her infancy, overtures for the match were made by James, who was already of mature age, and who flattered the wishes of Henry, while his own gallantries were not interrupted by the courtship. Margaret was educated with her elder brother, Arthur, and the younger Henry; but she learned little, and grew up illiterate and self-willed. At the age of thirteen, she was married by proxy to the Scottish King. When it was represented to Henry VII. that England might become a province of Scotland in consequence of this marriage, he said; "No, the smaller ever follows the larger kingdom." This is repeated by Lord Bacon and others as a proof of wonderful shrewdness; but it seems an obvious reflection enough, which probably occurred to half the nobility of England, and reconciled them to the match. The *fiancels* took place in 1503, at Richmond. Lady Katharine Gordon, widow of Perkin Warbeck, was present in the train of the Queen, (Elizabeth,) at

the ceremonial; Patrick Hepburn, Earl Bothwell, was the proxy of James. After the mutual troth had been plighted, the Queen led her daughter to a banquet in her private apartment, where the young creature dined as a queen — the Queen of Scotland with the Queen of England. It was remarked, that, while Margaret received the felicitations of all the court on the occasion, her brother Henry, having been encouraged in a dislike of the marriage by his tutor, Skelton the poet, flew into a rage that astonished the whole court, when they bade him go and salute the Queen of Scotland. The child showed himself father of the man. After dinner, the gentlemen cased themselves in steel, and mounted their horses to joust in honor of the event. Charles Brandon, Edward, Duke of Buckingham, and Lord William of Devonshire distinguished themselves by "the spears they broke, and the right goodly gambades they made." The next morning, when the King and Queen "had soped," (which does not mean any thing connected with their toilet ablutions, but the "supping" of the broth or porridge that constituted part of the royal breakfast,) the Queen of Scots came to the great chamber to thank those who jousted for her; and she bid the heralds say that Rayne de Shezells (some foreign name spelled at a venture) and Charles Brandon had right well jousted; John Carr, better; and Lord William of Devon, best of all. Pageants and more jousting followed. The Earl of Bothwell sent to the English officer of arms the gown of cloth of gold he wore at the betrothal; and after a great supper, the King sent his cupboard of plate to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, while a general interchange of presents took place on all sides.

James IV. was eighteen years older than Margaret. He was first united by a secret marriage, for which he got no dispensation, and which was opposed by the majority of his peers and counsellors, to the Lady Margaret Drummond. But she and her two sisters were poisoned simultaneously at Drummond castle, while at breakfast, by those who dreaded the Drummond influence in the kingdom. In September, 1503, the young Margaret left Richmond to proceed to the north; and along with her, branched off that line which is now continued by her Majesty, Queen Victoria. Margaret was escorted by her father to Colleweston, the residence of the Duchess of Richmond, his mother. There he took

leave of his daughter, and, on parting, gave her an illuminated missal or manual, having written with his own hand on one of the pages as follows: — "*Remember your kynde and loving fader in your good prayers. Henry R.*" On another page he wrote: — *Pray for your loving fader that gave you thys booke, and I gyve you at all tymes godds blessyng and myne. Henry R.*"

The Queen set out, on a white pony, and attended by twenty-four young English ladies, on palfreys, in fair order and array. Three footmen always walked close to Margaret's palfrey, very "honestly appointed," with portcullises embroidered on their jackets. A litter was provided, in which the Queen was borne from time to time. There was also a car, finely adorned, in which were four matronly ladies of her bed-chamber. Minstrels rode near the Queen, and on entering and leaving towns, they always played lively airs. A large *cortége* of barons and bishops, with their servants, escorted her on her way. The bells were rung in every town through which she passed, and the noblemen and gentry of every shire she traversed accompanied her to the boundaries of the next. The inhabitants along the roads brought vessels full of ale, cider, and milk, and refused any payment, saying that if they had better, they would offer it. Going through the dioceses, the bishops never failed to come and present her with *the cross to kiss.* This last seems to have been an indispensable ceremony, and it is recorded with an apparently scrupulous exactness by the English herald, who has left an account of the journey. Margaret was lodged at nights in gentlemen's houses, convents, or inns, — which last seem to have borne a more dignified character than those of the same designation in modern times. When she was about to enter the northern metropolis, York, seeing she was to have a grand reception, she changed her dress; that is, she went into the litter, *by the side of the road,* where — when the twenty-four ladies had warned all the gentlemen to a great distance — they "refreshed" her habiliments, removing all dust and travel-stains; and then performed the same duties for themselves. There the stout Earl of Northumberland — the toparch of "the North countrie" — came to greet the Queen of Scots. He and his horse showed very magnificently. The animal's harness and his own were hung all over

with bells, like one of our sleighing equipages, "making a melodious noise when he moved; and he did not spare gambades," — prancing and caracoling of his horse. The Earl took Margaret to his castle of Alnwick, where, in the park, she stood and shot a buck with an arrow, and was afterwards feasted with baronial hospitality. At Berwick, she was treated to "a course of chase" within the inclosure of the walls, and further amused with a great fight of dogs and bears, and the firing off of artillery! At Berwick north gate, the English lords took leave of her "with many leaps and gambades," and feats of horsemanship, and a thousand Scottish horse formed thereafter her guard of honor.

At Dalkeith, she was met by King James. He was now thirty-one years old, and was considered the handsomest sovereign in Europe. He "uncovered his head, and made deep obeisance to her, while she made a lowly reverence." He then kissed her, and, — such, of course, being the fashion of the time, — kissed "all her ladies" also. After this he took the Queen aside, in the great open dining hall, and talked with her. She was not at all embarrassed; and "the King remained bareheaded all the time." "Incontinent the board was set and served. The King and Queen washed their hands with humble reverence, and after that, sat them down at table together." When the meal was over, the Queen showed her skill in playing on the lute and clavichord; "but ever while she played on these instruments, King James knelt beside her, with his head uncovered." From these particular allusions to the uncovered head, we may suppose that, in their palaces and halls, princes and barons wore their hats and caps much more constantly than people are in the habit of doing, within doors, nowadays. At that time, indeed, the *head-dress* of gentlemen was elegant and ornamental; now, it is simply an ugly absurdity. At supper, the King sat in his chair of state, at the head of the table; but the stool on which the Queen sat not being easy, the King gallantly placed her in his own chair. This is recorded with approbation of his remarkable politeness.

When Queen Margaret was approaching Edinburgh, the king sent her a "great tame hart," that they might set the dogs after it, and let her Grace see a hunt. But the Earl of Surrey declined the offer, postponing the chase till the King

and Queen should be able to enjoy so pleasant a thing in company. James now approached, with all the splendor and bravery of Holyrood court.

"Half-way to Edinburgh, James IV. was seen advancing with his company. He was this time attired in grand costume. 'His steed was trapped with gold, and round its neck was a deep gold fringe; the saddle and harness were of gold, but the bridle and head-gear of burnished silver. The King wore a jacket of cloth of gold, lined and bordered with violet velvet and fine black *bouge* or *budge* fur; his waistcoat was of violet satin, his *hose* of scarlet, his shirt confined with bands of pearls and rich stones; his spurs were long and gilt. He rode toward the Queen in full course, at the pace at which the hare is hunted. On seeing her, he made very humble obeisance, and, leaping down from his horse, he came and kissed her in her litter. Then, mounting in his usual gallant fashion, without touching stirrup, a gentleman-usher unsheathed the sword of state, and bore it before his King in regal fashion. The Scottish sword was inclosed in a scabbard of purple velvet, whereon was written, in letters of pearl, *God my defende.* The like words are on the pommel, the cross, and the *chap* also. The Earl of Bothwell bore this sword when the royal party reached Edinburgh town.'

"The King placed himself by the Queen's litter, and passed all the time conversing with her and entertaining her, as he rode by her side." — Vol. i. p. 45.

On the way, the King tried the temper of a horse, by taking up a gentleman behind himself, to know whether the animal would tolerate the little bride *en croupe.* But the experiment was unfavorable, and James, dismounting, got on the Queen's quiet palfrey instead, and Margaret, being seated behind him, they jogged on to the city in a magnificent manner. As Leigh Hunt says, —

> "Riding double was no crime
> In the gay James Stuart's time,
> Nor did the lady blush vermilion,
> Riding on the lover's pillion."

As they were getting along, there was a *divertissement* of two knights fighting a duel, who struck so fiercely that the King trotted forward to stop them; and the King and Queen called out together, "peace!" and had them parted. How strange all this seems to us, who are familiar with accounts or sights of the royal pageantries of our own day! We fancy there was more real enjoyment in the court ceremonies of the olden

time than is possible under the severity of the modern code in regard to decorum and etiquette. Our keen sense of the ridiculous has abridged our pastimes; we dare not enjoy ourselves for fear of being laughed at. Punch is as rigid a *censor morum* as John Knox.

We refer our readers to Miss Strickland's ample and curious details of the ceremony of the marriage at Holyrood. After it was over, the lords of the household "brought bread and wine in rich pots," and when the collation was finished, the King and Queen retired. At dinner, the King *insisted* that the Queen should be served first. At the first course, she was served with "a wild boar's head"; then, with "a fair piece of brawn;" and, in the third place, with "a jambon," (ham,) which was followed by divers other dishes. James was determined that the little lady should be taken good care of, and have no reason to complain of any lack of viands; — though, for a girl of fourteen, they certainly seem to have been rather solid.

When, at the end of a week, some of the English train left the court to proceed to England, the young Queen sent a letter to her father, in which, using one of her ladies as amanuensis, she shows that, even thus early, she was discontented with her husband. She dislikes the Earl of Surrey, who came with her from England, and remarks that he is "in great favor with *this King here*" — (doubtless because the Earl opposed some of her whimsical ways.) "He and the Bishop of Murray order every thing as nigh as they can to the King's pleasure; I pray God it may be for my poor heart's ease in time to come."

It was impossible that happiness should come of such a marriage; the disparity of years was too great, seeing that James might have been Margaret's father. In her sixteenth year, she had a son, but she nearly died in childbed. James then made a pedestrian pilgrimage to St. Ninian's shrine, on her behalf, in the course of which he renewed his acquaintance with the fair Jane Kennedy, mother of his son James Stuart. Such pilgrimages were very frequent; and they greatly irritated the mind of young Margaret. James treated her as a child, while the strong feelings of an insulted woman were growing in her bosom. In 1512, she had had four children, of whom three died; the fourth survived, to be James V.

This prince, after his infancy, was given in charge to David Lindsay, the poet, afterwards knighted and made Lord Lion King-at-Arms.

In 1513, James IV. had resolved on a war with England. He sent his herald to young Henry VIII., then besieging Terouenne, to declare hostilities on account of several Scottish subjects cruelly used in prison, refusing to pay "our wiffs legacy" (left by Prince Arthur at his decease,) and other good causes of "sturt and strife." Anne of Brittany sent James a ring from her finger, bidding him, as her knight, go three days' march across the border into England.

> "The fair Queen Anne of France
> Sent him a Turquois ring and glove,
> And charged him, as her knight and love,
> For her to break a lance;
> And strike three strokes with Scottish brand,
> And march three miles on Southron land,
> And bid the banners of his band
> In English breezes dance!"

The political meaning that lay under all this poetry was, that the King of Scotland should make such a diversion at home as would check King Henry's military operations in France. Queen Margaret was greatly discontented with the King's determination to march south, and, it is said, complained that Queen Anne sent her husband "ane love-letter." She wished to dissuade James from the war, and told him some deadly dreams which seemed to presage no good. She also, doubtless, tried to work on his superstitions, by sending to him, while praying in the Abbey church of St. Michael, that old "gaberlunzie man" mentioned by Lindsay of Pitscottie, who says the stranger approached the King, and told him that his (the visitor's) mother sent him to warn his Grace against the war. Other juggleries were made use of to dissuade the King; but, *tenax propositi*, he would march; and at the head of the motley *wapentake* of his kingdom, he took his way southwards, to return no more. He was met and defeated by his old friend, Lord Surrey, at Flodden —

> Where shivered was fair Scotland's spear,
> And broken was her shield.

A corpse, supposed by some to be the King's, and by others that of Lord Elphinstone, was embalmed by Surrey's orders, and sent, with James's armor, to Richmond palace. The

body remained unburied for half a century; because the King lay under the excommunication of Pope Julius II. for the invasion of England. This excommunication may have had something to do with the uncertainty that has ever hung over the fate of James and his body. We have never seen this suggestion made, but believe the truth to be involved in this ban under which the King of Scotland lay, and which, of course, forbade christian burial to his corpse. Fifty years after the battle of Flodden, the body, supposed to be that of James, was buried in Wood street church, London, by the King's plumber; as we are informed by Stowe, in his Annals.

Queen Margaret wrote a letter to her brother, requesting that hostilities should cease; and twenty days after her husband's death, she had James V. crowned at Scone. The ceremony was remembered in Scotland as the Mourning Coronation. Margaret was declared Regent in her twenty-fourth year. She gave birth to another son, the Duke of Ross, in a few months; and, in less than a year, married the Earl of Angus, Archibald Douglas, then in his ninteenth year. The marriage was private; and great was the discontent of the realm to find the Queen so closely connected with the overbearing house of Douglas. The council of the kingdom deposed the Queen from the Regency, and sent the Lion King-at-Arms to summon young Angus before it, to answer for his boldness in marrying her. The said Lion, on going into her presence-chamber, met a greater lion than himself; for, on hailing Margaret as "the mother of his grace the King," he was saluted with a blow from the old Lord Drummond, who, with his grandson, Angus, was standing near the Queen's chair at the time. The lords sent to summon the Duke of Albany from France, to assume the Regency; and the Queen kept up a correspondence with her brother, demanding his support for herself and the Douglases. She asked for the aid of a fleet and an army against the forces of the united lords. But in 1515, Albany arrived as Regent, and changed the aspect of affairs. Lord Drummond had his estate confiscated for insulting the Lion; but on account of his age, he soon got it back again. The Queen was then called on to surrender her children to the Regent; but she refused, and retired to Stirling (then spelled Striveling) castle. Albany besieged her there, and obliged her to give them up. With the assistance of her husband Angus, she made her escape, and took

refuge in England, where, in Harbottle castle, then commanded by Lord Dacre, she was delivered of her daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, the future mother of Lord Darnley, so tragically destroyed at the Kirk of Field. In the midst of her sickness in this rude fortress, she heard of the death of one of her sons, the Lord Ross.

Henry invited his sister to London, and she proceeded to the south; but without Lord Angus, who quitted her at Morpeth, and went back to the borders. She made her entry into London, in 1516, after a thirteen years' absence, riding behind Sir Thomas Parr, on a white palfrey. One of King Henry's first questions was, "where is my Lord of Angus?" and when informed that he would not accompany her, he said, "done like a Scot." He who had half the Scottish peerage in his pay would very naturally hold the national character lightly. The Queen then took measures to have all her personal property withdrawn from Scotland. Having remained at Baynard's castle a whole year, at Henry's charges, Margaret, of course by his advice, resolved to go back to Scotland, seeing that the Regent Albany was then going away to France. She took her little daughter with her. Her agreement with her brother was, that peace between England and Scotland should be preserved only on condition that the lords of the latter country should treat her with respect. On her arrival there, the latter began to call her to account for a large sum of money left by James IV. to his son; and as she would not refund, they confiscated part of her property. Of this she complained to Henry, and asked him to seize Scottish ships on the coast, and remit her the proceeds, — so as to square accounts with her enemies. She was forever asking Henry for supplies, exclaiming against the Scottish lords, and promising to create a strong English influence in the kingdom — thus proving herself an adept in all the arts of avarice and treason. She quarrelled irreconcilably with her husband, and began to desire the return of Albany for the purpose of punishing Angus, who was also poaching upon her estates and jointures. Albany returned in 1521, and was cordially assisted by the Queen in banishing Angus and his brother to France.

Margaret then breathed at ease, got her rents, and held free intercourse with her son, the prince. Her next desire

was, to procure a divorce from Angus; and after Albany had again gone away to France, and left her Regent, she succeeded. The divorce was pronounced in Scotland and Ancona, greatly against the wishes of Henry VIII., who favored the Douglases, the most traitorous family then in Scotland. A little while after, the Queen Regent married Lord Henry Stuart, created Earl of Methven — (then pronounced and generally written, *Muffin.*) But, alas for the instability of human affection! — she wanted to divorce him also, in 1537. Apparently, she wished to have as many husbands as her brother, Henry VIII., had wives. She was prevented, however, by her son, King James, now twenty-five years old, who had just returned from France, bringing with him his delicate and doomed young bride, Madelaine of Valois. In 1541, Margaret was struck with palsy, at Methven castle, and felt that the final divorce was about to be pronounced. She prepared herself, and acknowledged that her conscience was very uneasy regarding Lord Angus, and that she asked God's mercy that she had offended him, as she had. Miss Strickland sums up her history thus: —

"Her misdeeds, and the misfortunes attributable to her personal conduct, gave rise to most of the terrible calamities which befell her descendants. Some persons among the aristocracy of Scotland followed her evil example of divorce, which caused long and angry litigation concerning the birthright of their descendants. The fearful feud between the houses of Arran and Darnley-Stuart was of this kind, which deeply involved the prosperity of her granddaughter, Mary, Queen of Scots. And that hapless Princess was likewise marked as a victim by the cold and crafty Ruthven, on account of his family interests being affected by Queen Margaret's marriages and divorces.

"A succession of tragedies, for three generations, was the consequence of Margaret Tudor's indulgence of her selfish passions. Nor are the woes attendant on the contempt of the divine institution of marriage limited to the great ones of the earth. Many a domestic tragedy, though shrouded in the obscurity of everyday life, may be traced to the same cause. Sorrow enters with sin; it desolates the peace of home; and unoffending children suffer for the evil of their parents, whenever persons are found to break, either by wilful passions or litigious contest, the earliest law given by the Almighty." — Vol. i. pp. 244, 245.

The next Queen of Scotland came like a shadow, and so

departed. She was daughter of Francis the First of France, and born in 1520, when her future husband, James V., was eight years old. In 1533, James, being then twenty-one, applied for her hand. But Francis demurred, on account of her youth and ill health. James's attention was then, for a time, turned to her cousin, the Princess Mary, of Vendome, and (with that romantic spirit which always distinguished the Stuarts, and which sent his grandson, Charles I., when Prince of Wales, in company with Buckingham, to see the Spanish Infanta,) he embarked with one hundred gentlemen, at Leith, intending to proceed *incognito* to the court of the young lady's father. But his followers, who supposed they were all going in the direction of London, to look after the princess Mary, refused to accompany him when they saw the ship's head turned towards the French coast, and forced the pilot to steer them back to Scotland. James was in a great rage; but they treated him as a light-headed young gentleman that did not rightly know what he was about, and he was obliged to submit. A little time after, he carried out his first resolve, and passed over into France, with a dozen lords, gentlemen, and abbots. At Dieppe, he assumed a disguise, and, attended by two or three of his trustiest friends, journeyed to Paris. Thence he proceeded, as the servant of one of his officers, and made his appearance among the menials of the castle of Vendome on the occasion of a great *fête*. But, as Lindsay of Pitscottie assures us, the young princess, who had heard of his coming, and felt a strong partiality for so distinguished a lover, contrived to discover him in the crowd by his likeness to a miniature of himself, which she always carried in her bosom. She therefore went up to him, greeted him, and announced him, to the surprise and joy of the whole court.

James, however, for some indistinct reasons, left Vendome before the courtship could be ripened into marriage. Some go so far as to say he did not like the lady. At all events, he travelled away to the court of the King of France, who was then sojourning at Lyons, with his family, and in deep mourning for the death of the Dauphin. The Duke of Orleans, his other son, first met the young King of Scots in a chapel of the city, and took him joyfully to the King's castle. When they arrived, Francis had gone to his cham-

ber to take his afternoon repose. The prince, however, went hastily to the door, and knocked loudly. The King asked what was the matter, and being told the King of Scotland was at the door, leaped at once from his couch, and came to take his visitor in his arms. The moment the sickly Magdalene saw the gay young prince, she began to love him so well "that she would have none to be her husband but he *allanerlie*, (only.) When James applied for the princess, it was objected that he was engaged to the heiress of Vendome, with whose feelings, it was the belief, that he had been trifling. But after a long debate in the French Council, it was decided that the two obstinate young lovers should be gratified; though the King felt reluctant to send away the delicate Madelaine to brave the severe climate of Scotland. She herself, however, defied such gloomy augury, and seemed to grow stronger and better, as if her spirits had power to overcome bodily infirmity. She and King James were married at Nôtre Dame, in 1537, the ceremony being one of rare magnificence.

"In the evening the banquet was in the grand hall of the palace, on which occasion the members of the Court of Parliament were among the invited guests, and attended in their red robes. After supper there were games, dances, and splendid masks.

"King James's New-Year's gifts to minstrels and musicians, on this occasion, were as follows,—'Item given to the King of France's trumpets for their New-Year's gifts, twenty-two crowns; to his hautboys, twenty-two crowns; to his siflers (fifers) six crowns; to his cornets, sixteen crowns. To the Queen of Navarre's hautboys, ten crowns.' Lastly, James gave a benefaction of twelve crowns to the tambourner of his royal bride. It was a well-calculated economy thus to unite the New Year's and the bridal gifts. The good people of Paris, who had watched with sympathizing interest the progress of this royal romance of love and wedlock, had their full share of pleasure in the fêtes and pageants which took place in honor of the bridal of '*le beau Roi d' Ecosse*,' as they styled King James V., with the eldest daughter of France, 'for,' says Lindsay of Pitscottie, 'there never was so great a solemnity and triumph seen in France in one day, as was then, since the time of King Charles the Main. For there was such jousting and tournaments, both on horse and foot, in burgh and land, and also upon the sea with ships; and so much artillery shot in all parts of France, both on the land and sea, in castles, towns, and villages, that no man might hear

for the *reard* (roaring,) thereof; and also the riotous banqueting, delicate and costly clothings, triumphant plays and feasts, with pleasant sound of instruments of all kinds; and also cunning carvers, having the art of necromancy, to cause things appear which were not, as, flying dragons in the air, shots of fire at other's heads, great rivers of waters running through the town, and ships fighting thereupon, as it had been in bullering streams of the sea, shooting of guns like cracks of thunder: and these wonders were seen both by the nobility and common people."—Vol. i. p. 284.

When Henry VIII., who designed his daughter Mary for James, heard of this marriage, he refused to receive the French herald, Pommeraye, for several days, and when he finally gave him audience, looked and spoke savagely. When Mary of Vendome heard of the marriage, she declared her purpose of retiring to a convent for life. After a stay of four months in France, James and his bride took leave of the King, the Queen, and the court of France "with great drinking on every side," and came to Scotland. There Magdalene was received with acclamation; but she declined rapidly, and died at the end of forty days, aged sixteen years. She was buried in the royal vault of Holyrood Abbey. In 1688, the theological mob broke into the place, tore the lids from the coffins, and pulled out the bodies. Among these the body of Magdalene was desecrated shamefully. Arnott, the historian, saw it in 1776, and said that the head was then entire, and very beautiful. It was, however, afterwards stolen.

Among the lovely women James had met in France, he admired most the Duchess of Longueville, whom he first saw at the castle of Vendome. She was sister of the duke of Vendome, and her eyes must have sparkled with interest and mirth when James made his first romantic appearance there. She was also present, along with her husband, the Duke of Longueville, at the marriage of James, in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame. When the King of Scotland had become a widower, she was the widow of a month and a day, after a marriage of three years. At the end of a few months, James sent David Beton and Lord Maxwell to negotiate with and for this beautiful daughter of the House of Guise. Her father, Claude, Duke of Lorraine, was the founder of that high-reaching family. On her widowhood, she was offered,

almost simultaneously, the crowns matrimonial of England and Scotland. She refused the offer of the Tudor Bluebeard for very good reasons, and accepted that of James. She brought him 150,000 *livres de tournois;* and he, in return, nobly dowered her, in Scotland, with "lands and livings many a rood." The Lord Maxwell married the widow by proxy, at Nôtre Dame, and then Mary and her train came to her future country. Madame Montreuil, with eight other ladies of honor, belonging to the deceased Queen Magdalene, being then dismissed, they passed through London, on their way to France. Henry VIII. gave them good entertainment, with a desire to outshine the hospitalities of the northern kingdom. The Lord Mayor was ordered to provide them with "ten great carps, ten great eels, ten great pikes, a portion of salmon and sturgeon, a certain quantity of tenches and breams, and other fishes that could be gotten, with ten sugar loaves, ten wax torches, and white wine and claret in abundance, at their dinners and suppers."

Among the dramatic representations got up by Sir David Lindsay, for the amusement of the Scottish Court, were certain saturnalian comedies, ridiculing the Catholic religion in many of its rites and ceremonies. The King and Queen not only countenanced these, but seemed to enjoy them. The royal pair were constantly changing their abode, and carrying their furniture of all sorts along with them.

"All the historians of the period agree that Mary of Lorraine spent the first year of her marriage with James V. at St. Andrews; yet the entries in the Compotus prove that she and the King were constantly changing their place of abode from one palace to another, and were seldom stationed long anywhere. Their tapestry, beds, plate, and other articles of furniture, were generally removed at the same time for their use, King James being possessed of more houses than goods, notwithstanding the rich plenishing his late Queen Magdalene brought with her from France. Mary of Lorraine brought little in comparison, and among those we notice hangings with the arms of Longueville, pertaining to her late husband.

"At the King's great hunting at Meggotland, several horse-loads of beds were brought from Peebles, also 'the tapestry that lies under the King and Queen's feet, from Linlithgow to Sterling.'

"The Treasurer sent to Falkland Palace, Nov. 16, ten ells of green burge satin, to be ane gown to Senat, the Queen's fool.

This functionary was a female; for the next article enumerates '14 ells of linen claith to be "her" sarkis. Violet powder pokes, (bags,) to lay among the King's claiths,' cost 6 shillings Scots. An ell and a quarter of purple velvet was provided to be 'shoon' for the King's Grace. 'Ane ell of purple velvet to be covering to the King's book, and ane poke to put it in.' Sewing gold, cords, fringes, knobs, and borders, are charged as ornaments to the said book and poke to put in; and for workmanship, £3 19*s.*

"The Queen was likewise provided with velvet-bound books and ornamental 'pokes to put them in.' The King's Compotus testifies of purple velvet delivered to Helen Ross, one of the Queen's ladies, 'to cover ane matin book for the Queen's Grace, and to make a poke to put it in of the same; moreover, she had red damask to line the said poke. David Chapman was paid ten shillings for binding and laying about the said matin book with gold. Helen Ross was given eight single hanks of gold to border the book, and the poke, and knobs thereto, and silk to string the poke with, besides costly workmanship to the amount of £3 10*s.* — all which, excepting the actual binding, was done by the Queen's lady.'

"The expenses of the carriage of the Queen's wardrobe, and those of her gentlewomen, give the intelligence that they 'went furth of Falkland to Kirkaldy, December 16, after the Queen's marriage. A barn was hired at Kirkaldy to deposit them therein, and two men had wage to walk the same,' — to watch, or walk as sentries, at the barn of Kirkaldy. Boats were hired at Kinghorn to ferry the Queen's wardrobe over the water, and finally, the royal party settled at Stirling. The King ordered chains of gold, gold rings, tablets, and other goldsmith's work, to make his Christmas presents. For this jewelry he paid Thomas Ryne, goldsmith, £239 19*s.*; besides three chains and two hearts of gold, for further New Year's gifts, to the amount of £23. The court was at Linlithgow a month afterward, when the King sent to Edinburgh for a coffer of silver work, and other gear, to the Laird of *Dunnis* marriage. Vol. i. pp. 338, 339.

These particulars indicate the extreme rarity of those manufactured articles of personal and household convenience, which are now within the reach of the humblest classes of society.

James the Fifth is thought to have written the poem of Christ's Kirk on the Green in the first year of his second marriage. It shows the extreme familiarity with the thoughts and ways of the commonalty which distinguished the Stuarts in Scotland. Mr. George Chalmers gives apparently good

reasons for concluding that James I. was not the author of this poem. The coronation of Mary of Lorraine did not take place at once. She delayed till her miners at Crawford Moor had gathered golden dust enough to make a circlet and other gold ornaments proper to the ceremony. A little superstition was mingled with her religious feelings, and she attached a certain importance to the "gold of the mine." The "Compotus," or Royal expense-book of that time, says that John Patterson charged 34 shillings for a case for the King's new crown; and Thomas Arthur had half an ell of rich purple given to him, to make a cap for the inside of the new crown. John Mossman, the King's goldsmith, got 31 ounces of silver, to make a sceptre for the Queen against her coronation; and four rose nobles were given, *out of the treasury*, to gild the sceptre. All this seems to show the simplicity and poverty of the royal resources. Indeed, it is probable that, till this replenishment, there were not enough regalia in the treasury to crown Mary with any decent show of queenliness.

At this time Henry VIII., by his ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, tried to induce James to fortify his exchequer by laying hands upon the property of the monasteries. But James was steady in his refusal, saying frankly: "By my troth, I thank God I have enough to live on, and if we mister (need) any thing that they have, we may have it at our pleasure." James would not risk the displeasure of his Queen and of the King of France. He had a great delicacy of constitution, and was subject to sleeplessness and bad dreams. A dream of his is recorded, in which he fancied Sir James Hamilton of Finart was going to stab him with a sword. His two sons perished in their infancy, to the deep affliction of both the parents. The health of James thus received a shock which was deepened by the defection of his nobles and the destruction of his army by the swelling of the Solway at Fala Muir. A depression and derangement of mind followed, and he took to his bed at his palace of Falkland, with a presentiment that he should never leave it. At this juncture, the Queen was at Linlithgow, in child-bed. When she was delivered of a daughter, afterwards the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, the news was carried to the King where he lay in extremity. The announcement was one more blow;

for he had hopes of a son. "Farewell," he said, "to the crown of Scotland! It came with *a lass*, and it will go with *a lass!*" So saying, he turned his face to the wall. Cardinal Beton gave him a paper, appointing a regency, which the King signed mechanically. After a while, there came the gleam of consciousness before death; and, recognizing his friends about the couch, James "gave ane little laughter," or smile, and then, holding up his hands in a praying attitude, breathed his last, at the age of thirty-one. The vehement and not always trustworthy John Knox hints that Cardinal Beton poisoned the King, with the connivance of Mary of Lorraine. But history has utterly disproved this, among other things assumed or asserted by that fierce iconoclast. The royal Compotus, kept by Kirkaldy of Grange at this time, gives an idea of the simple way in which the funeral obsequies of kings were performed in the olden times. "Item, the ferd day of Januar, given to two boys to warn the gentillmen of Fyffe for the conveying of the Kingis grace body fra Falkland to the Ferry, xvjs."

When King Henry VIII. heard of the death of James V., he began to entertain anew his old idea of preparing for the union of the two crowns under one head; and, releasing the Scottish nobles, whom he had held in opprobrious durance since the defeat at Fala Muir, he banqueted them, and so winning them over to his views, seven of them promised, should they be sent back to their country, to give up its strongest fortresses to the English during the minority of the princess, and also to cause her, if necessary, to be surrendered into his keeping. Henry's determinations in this matter were very vehement, and time fulfilled his wishes; but not in the way he anticipated. Providence set aside all his fierce and self-willed plans, and, by a series of strange and unexpected strokes, showed how vain are all the best laid schemes of the subtlest and strongest among men. The connection which was to bring about what he desired most — the union of England and Scotland — had already taken place, though he knew it not; and nothing of all he planned, as the means to that union, ever came to pass. He subsidized every traitor in Scotland, for the purpose of securing the hand of the princess Mary for his son Edward. The English influence grew strong in the northern kingdom, the Douglases had returned thither to support that influence, and Mary of

Lorraine trembled lest they should tear her beloved child from her arms. Henry's ambassador, Sadler, came to the north to help on every negotiation and movement which could favor the betrothal of the two unconscious children.

But to all the efforts of Henry and his agents, Mary opposed the dissimulation of the Guises, made sacred, in this case, by the feelings of a mother; and the King at last informed Sadler, that, if the *old* Queen (Mary of Lorraine was then in her 28th year) showed a design to remove the child from Linlithgow, he was to persuade the Douglases to take her off to Tantallon, and thus effectually separate her from her mother. No thought of pity for the poor little suckling herself seems to have entered into the mind of the royal schemer. But the Earls of Lennox and Bothwell, — all for love of the queenly widow, — put themselves at the head of ten thousand men, and riding to Linlithgow, where the two Marys were staying, took them away in triumph to the strong fortress of Stirling. There the young Queen was crowned, and placed under the protection of the Lords Lindsay, Livingstone, Erskine, and Graham. This *coup d'etat* was made in a timely manner; for the Lord-Governor, Arran, and the traitorous Douglases were on the point of getting the queens into their power, and bending them to the policy of England.

In 1543, the Governor concluded a treaty with Henry, affiancing the young Queen to Prince Edward. This was soon revoked by the parliament; and in 1544, Henry VIII. sent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The Lords of the Congregation — those who leaned to the doctrines of the Reformation, and opposed the Catholic party of Mary of Lorraine — either coöperated with the enemy, or beheld his invasion and the ravages attending it with indifference. The English army landed from ships at the Frith of Forth. Edinburgh was taken by storm, and almost laid in ashes; and Leith, Granton, and the towns and villages on both sides of the Forth were plundered and burned. The devastations of fire, sword, and famine were dreadful. In a little time, the King of France sent five thousand soldiers, under M. de Lorge Montgomery, to sustain Mary of Lorraine and the cause of the Queen. Thus was Scotland divided against itself. On one side, were the Queen Regent and the Catholic party of her government, supported by the King of France; and on

the other, the Lords of the Congregation, relying dishonorably upon the support of Henry, and advocating a reform which would force the hierarchy to disgorge its wealthy temporalities. Along with these extreme agencies, there existed a variety of turbulent and changing combinations and plots, while the *odium theologicum*, nourished by John Knox on the one side, and Cardinal Beton on the other, embittered all the strife. George Wishart, the reformer, was taken and burnt by the Cardinal and the Governor Arran, and Beton was, in turn, put violently out of the world by the milder stroke of an assassin.

Henry VIII. fomented, and tried to profit by, the distractions of Scotland. But he died in 1557, and there was an end to all his schemes. In the same year died his ally or rival, Francis I. If they could have held a *post mortem* colloquy, after the manner of Fontenelle's ghostly moralists, they would have smiled or sighed together, to recall the fierce vanities of their days in the world. But the turbulent business of this last went on, all the same; and Scotland, France, and England continued to be agitated by the passions of their rulers.

In 1557, the Duke of Somerset, Protector of the realm of Edward VI., invaded Scotland by sea and land, — the great object being the winning of the hand of the beautiful little Catholic princess for the boy king of England. The Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland, summoned the *landwehr* of the kingdom to the field. The Scottish army, to the number of 40,000, gathered at Musselburg, where the Earl of Huntley, a gay Gordon, invited Somerset to decide the differences between them — as well as these were understood — by the chances of the duel. Somerset declined, but offered to withdraw if the Scots would promise to keep their young Queen at home, and remember that she was affianced to King Edward; for it was at that time reported she was betrothed to the Dauphin. The Scots refused to treat on such terms; and on the next day, was fought the disastrous battle of Pinkey Cleugh, in which they were defeated with great slaughter. Somerset sacked Edinburgh a second time; and while Arran prepared to retrieve the disasters of the country, Mary of Lorraine fled with her daughter from the castle of Stirling to the priory of Inchmacome, in the lake of Menteith. She then proposed, at a convention of Scottish

lords, to send her child to the court of France, out of harm's way. This was assented to; and in 1548, M. d'Essé, who brought some French succors into the kingdom, demanded the hand of the princess for the Dauphin. This demand was cheerfully acceded to, and the mother prepared to part from a child whom she loved with the strongest affection. The necessity was a cruel one; but the alternative was still more repugnant to the feelings of Mary of Lorraine. She wept bitterly on parting with her little Queen, beside the steep of Dumbarton; but soon consoled by a sense of the child's safety, she dried her eyes, and began to take an active part in animating the French and German allies in their efforts to drive back the English from the soil of Scotland. Several advantages were obtained over the invaders, particularly after she had found means to detach the Douglases from the English alliance. In 1550, this miserable seven years' war, springing from the tyrannical policy of Henry VIII., was terminated, Scotland being included in the treaty of peace between Henry II. of France and Edward VI. of England.

Mary, who had been regularly cheered by the most favorable accounts of her beautiful child, prepared to go to France to see her and also her son by the Duke of Longueville. Henry II. wrote to Edward VI., soliciting a safe-conduct for the Queen Dowager; and it was sent, written and sealed by Edward himself, who ordered that, wherever it might be the pleasure of Mary to land on his coasts, she should be supplied with provisions at his charges. This shows that the amiable young prince either entertained no malice against her for sending away his promised bride, or hoped it was not even now too late to propitiate her feelings towards him. The Queen then passed to France with a noble retinue. She sailed from Leith, and, after a stormy voyage of twelve days — the time a Collins or Cunard ship now takes to cross the Atlantic — landed at Havre de Grace in Normandy. On her way to Paris, she visited her son, the Duke of Longueville, fifteen years old. She then passed on to Rouen, where she was "almost worshipped as a goddess by the court." But the principal Scots of her train filled the court with brawling, chiding, and fighting for their lodgings, and other quarrels among themselves. The little Queen Mary, who longed to see her mother, after a separation of two years,

had been taught a long pedantic speech, to be delivered, *en reine*, at the interview. But the moment Mary saw the child, she spoiled the programme by going at once, snatching her to her breast, and caressing her with the most vehement fondness, unrestrained by the presence of the court. The little Queen then began, and went through her oration in good set terms. At Rouen, Mary of Lorraine enjoyed the society of both her children, and spent some of the happiest days of her life.

Just as she was on the point of returning to Scotland, it was discovered that a plot had been formed to poison the little Queen of Scots. A gentleman named Henderson denounced Robert Stuart, of the king's guard, son of a Scottish baron, as having confessed to him his design of removing young Mary by poison. Stuart, who had fled to England and been arrested and examined by the king's counsel, said he was instigated by the Earl of Lennox and his brother, Lord d'Aubigny. Robert was taken back to Paris, and, having confessed his crime in presence of Henry II., was executed. Mary of Lorraine suffered a fit of illness in consequence of the shock received from these occurrences. When she recovered, she attended the French court in its progresses, and witnessed the gayeties that attended them. At last, she bid her child adieu, — which proved a final one, — and passed to Joinville to visit her widowed mother, the Duchess Dowager of Guise, then in mourning for the death of the Duke. The castle was all hung with black, and the Duchess had her own coffin lying in the gallery leading from her rooms to the chapel. From this abode of sorrow Mary of Lorraine proceeded to what was soon destined to be also a house of mourning. At Longueville, her son, the young duke, expired in her arms, of consumption. She afterwards went to the coast, where, at Dieppe, she received another safe-conduct from the English sovereign, and embarked for Scotland, she and her train dressed in deep mourning.

King Edward, in his "Journal," which has been preserved, records that the Queen Dowager of Scotland was driven by a tempest to land at Portsmouth. She sent him word that she had landed, and would pay him a visit. He made arrangements with his Council to receive her cordially, and lodged her at Hampton Court. A notification of these things

was duly made to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth. At this time, these princesses had little prospect of the crown. They were considered illegitimate; and Mary Queen of Scots, great grandchild of Henry VII., appeared the heir of the succession, failing issue of the reigning king. Mary of Lorraine was forwarded with honorable attendance, and received by sixty ladies of the first consideration in England. "Her lodgings, on the Queen's side," says King Edward, "were all hanged with arras, and so was the hall, and all the other lodges of mine were very fairly dressed, and this night and the next day all were spent in dancing and pastime, as though it were a court, and great presence of gentlemen resorted thither." Mary then went down to the city in a barge, and was lodged at Baynard's castle. The following is a pleasant and graphic description of these ancient passages of royal courtesy.

"King Edward having assigned to Dr. Ridley, Bishop of London, the honor of lodging and entertaining his royal visitor, she landed at Baynard Castle, where, being received by the Duke of Northumberland, Lord Willoughby, and others, she mounted her horse, and, attended by a grand equestrian cavalcade of the Scotch and English nobles, both ladies and gentlemen, rode from the wharf to the Bishop's palace at St. Paul's. 'On her arrival, the Lord Mayor sent her, as a guest of the city, great gifts of provisions, *beefs*, *muttons*, *veals*, *swines*, bread, wildfowl, wine, beer, spices, quails, sturgeon, wood, coals, and salmon, and all things, by divers *men*.

"This frank offering of civic hospitality, in the form of uncooked provisions in such profusion, leads to the conclusion that the royal stranger had to furnish forth her own table and that of her numerous followers in her episcopal lodgings. King Edward merely notes in his journal that day, 'She came to the Bishop's palace in London, and there she lay [slept that night] with all her train lodged about her.' Not a word of her being entertained. The citizens continued to send in vast stores of eatables all the next day for her use, which were received very graciously, and suitable responses made to all the complimentary deputations that waited upon her. Among the rest, there was one from the young sovereign, for the account of which we are indebted to his own journal: 'The Duke of Suffolk, November 3, with many lords and gentlemen, were sent to welcome her [the Queen Dowager of Scotland,] and to say on my behalf, that if she lacked any thing, she should have it for her better furniture; also, that I would willingly see her the day following.'

"On that important morning appointed for her reception by the youthful Majesty of England in his fifteenth year, Mary of Lorraine went in grand state from St. Paul's to Westminster in a chariot, wherein was seated by her side the maternal sister of her late consort James V., the Lady Margaret, at once her sister-in-law, the aunt of her daughter, and the wife of the traitor Lennox, her rejected lover. In the same chariot were also two other English princesses connected with the regal succession, who were related in equal degree to King Edward and her own daughter Mary Queen of Scots, namely, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lady Jane Grey. Preëminent in rank, as they were soon to be in calamity, above all others in the glittering cavalcade, these royal ladies were of course the central point of attraction for all eyes. Objects of envy doubtless they were to some in the attendant procession of titled English matrons, who, to the number of a hundred, brought up the rear, including the Duchesses of Richmond and Northumberland; but, if the gloomy destiny that impended over each member of that proudly distinguished quartette could have been unvailed, the meanest pedestrian, the most abject beggar by the wayside, would not have wished to exchange lots with any of them. But thus, unconscious of the dark future that awaited each other, rode on in stately companionship the ambitious mothers of those kindred victims, Mary Stuart, Darnley, and Lady Jane Grey,—and the Lady Jane herself, the youngest, the wisest, and the happiest of the party, because the holiest, and the first to be dismissed from the pains and penalties inherited with the royal blood of York and Lancaster.

"The Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk received the illustrious visitor at the portals of the palace, and conducted her to the hall where the young King stood. He advanced to meet her, the Earl of Warwick bearing the sword of state before him. On his approach, Mary of Lorraine courtesied so low that it amounted almost to a genuflexion. Edward took her by the hand, kissed, embraced, and welcomed her in gracious and affectionate terms, then led her into his own presence-chamber, where the presentation of her Scottish ladies to him took place. The youthful sovereign courteously saluted every one, though he modestly omits any allusion to that part of the ceremony in the record he has made of his reception and entertainment of the fair Dowager of Scotland and her ladies. We should do the regal chronicler great wrong, if we did not cite in full his naïve account of the proceedings of himself and his royal guest, from his journal for that memorable day.

"'Nov. 4.—The Duke of Suffolk, Lord Braye, and divers other lords and gentlemen, accompanied with his wife the Lady Frances,

the Lady Margaret (Lennox), the Duchesses of Richmond and of Northumberland, the Lady Jane (Grey), daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquises of Northampton and Winchester, the Countesses of Arundel, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Rutland, with a hundred other gentlewomen, went to her, and brought her through London to Westminster. At the gate there received her the Duke of Northumberland (Dudley), great-master, and the treasurer, comptroller, and the Earl of Pembroke, with all the sewers and carvers and cupbearers, to the number of thirty. In the hall, I met her, with all the lords of my council; and from the outer gate up to the presence-chamber, on both sides, stood my guard. The court, the hall, and the stairs were full of serving-men; the presence-chamber, great chamber, and *her* presence-chamber, of gentlemen. And so, having brought her to her chamber, I retired to mine. I went to her to dinner. She dined under the same cloth of *estate*, at my left hand. At her rear-ward dined my cousin *Francis* and my cousin Margaret; at mine [rearward] sat the French embassador. We were served by two services, two sewers, cupbearers, carvers, and gentlemen. Her master *hostell* came before her service, and my officers before mine. There were two cupboards, one of gold, four stages high; another of massy silver, six stages high. In her great chamber, dined at three boards the ladies only. After dinner, when she had heard some music, I brought her to the hall, and so she went away.' " — Vol. ii. pp. 141 – 144.

Remarkably enough, neither of the princesses, Mary or Elizabeth, is mentioned by the King as being present on any of these occasions. They never came to see the queen-mother of Scotland. It has been recorded, but not by King Edward, that in a short private conversation with Mary of Lorraine, he alluded to his former betrothal to the young Queen of Scots. Having asked how his visitor liked England, and being told she liked every thing in it, but its king best of all, he made answer, " And yet you would not have me for your son." Mary then explained, that the barbarities accompanying the English invasions had naturally alienated her people and herself. It is stated that King Edward renewed his suit with earnestness, and declared he would be the eternal enemy of whomsoever the Scottish Queen should espouse. Thus importuned, the queen-mother pretended to be willing to open negotiations again, and promised to use her influence for that purpose. She was very favorably impressed by her young host, and she used

afterwards to declare, that he had more sense than any three ripe-aged princes in Europe. He certainly treated her with infinite care and courtesy, in keeping with the name he has left behind. By his forethought, all the stages of her journey to her own country were made easy and dignified. She passed from London to Edinburgh, in eighteen days, over a space now traversed in a day.

Henry II., of France, kept up a regular correspondence with Mary of Lorraine, and alludes, in one of his letters, with many expressions of regret, to the death of Edward VI., who had been affianced to his daughter, Elizabeth Valois. In 1554, the young Queen of Scots, being twelve years old, removed Arran from the Regency, and made her mother Regent. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, was then, in compensation, made Duke of Chatelherault in France. John Knox, the fierce opponent of the Guises and Catholicity, says, in allusion to some sort of circlet put on the dowager's head on investing her with the Regency, "A crown put upon her head, — as seemly a sight (if men had eyes) as to put a saddle on the back of an unruly kow." The reformer here shows that he remembered his Horace, and *optat ephippia bos piger*. But his satire was untrue when applied to one of the tallest and most majestic women in Europe, in that age; and, in spite of her Guisean blood, very far from being one of the worst.

Mary of Lorraine, in her office of Regent, seems to have borne her faculties with prudence and the general approval of the people, — Knox and the reformers excepted. But she allowed herself to be employed by Henry II. of France, to aid his ally, Philip of Spain, by making an inroad against England. She collected the military strength of the kingdom for this purpose; but, as usual, the Scottish *landwehr* was reluctant to march south, and her nobles obliged her to let them all go back again. To fight for plunder or personal revenge would be a reasonable thing; but to make war for an indistinct reason of state — a foreign treaty — was another affair, particularly as each man was obliged to furnish his own provisions, and carry them on his back, to boot.

In 1558, Mary Queen of Scots was married to the Dauphin. Pageants and bonfires celebrated this great event in both countries; and in Scotland, the large cannon, Mons

Meg, was fired repeatedly from the castle of Edinburgh. But as ammunition was scarce, the cannoneers were sent after the balls discharged, and they were duly brought back, some of them having been found two miles off, at Wardie Moor.

The Regent found herself in a perilous position, between the Church on the one hand, and the Reformers on the other. Mary's character is fairly vindicated against the false impressions produced by Knox and others. She naturally favored her own church; but she was clement, and, in a great degree, tolerant. But the Catholic hierarchy of the kingdom was cruel and tyrannical, and involved her in the odium of its acts. The Archbishop of St. Andrews obliged her to issue a summons against a popular preacher, Paul Methven, who had boldly spoken Protestant doctrines. Paul came to Holyrood, to the clerical convention; but along with him came such a crowd of heretics, in steel caps and carrying swords, that the court and Catholic party were greatly terrified.

"The west-country gentlemen, strong in numbers, fervent in spirit, and clad in steel withal, instead of yielding obedience to the mandate, came in a body to the palace to protest against it, uttering threats both loud and deep against the prelates, to whose influence it was attributed. The affrighted hierarchy fled for refuge into the Queen-Regent's privy-chamber, followed by their antagonists, who, regardless of the inhibition of her Majesty's ushers and officers, rudely forced themselves into her presence, headed by James Chalmers of Gathgirth, who addressed her in these words: 'Madam, we know that this is the malice and device of these *jefwels* [jail-birds,] and of that bastard [meaning the Archbishop of St. Andrews] who stands by you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our tenants for feeding of their idle bellies; they trouble our preachers and would murder them and us. Shall we suffer this any longer? *Na*, Madam, it shall not be.' Then every man put on his steel-cap, in token of defiance. Alarming as this demonstration must have been to a defenceless woman, who saw her privacy rudely invaded, and herself surrounded by a throng of armed zealots, Mary of Lorraine betrayed neither anger nor personal terror on this occasion, but endeavored, in her broken Scotch, to soothe and pacify the intruders with gentle and endearing words. 'Nothing,' says John Knox, 'was heard on the Queen's part but 'My joys, my hearts, what ails you? *Me* means no evil to you, nor to your preachers. The Bishops shall

do you no wrong. Ye are all my loving subjects. *Me* knew nothing of this proclamation. The day of your preachers shall be discharged, and *me* will hear the controversy that is betwix the Bishops and you: they shall do you no wrong." Then turning to the Bishops she said, "My lords, I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers." And unto the gentlemen, who were wondrously commoved, she turned again and said, "Oh, my hearts, should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your mind, and should ye not *luif* your neighbors as *yourselfes?*" With these and the like fair words,' pursues Knox, 'she kept the Bishops from buffets at that time.' And much to her credit it was, that by preserving her own temper, and using gentle and persuasive language to allay the wrath of furious men, who had made themselves ready to do battle in her presence with the trembling prelates, she succeeded in preventing bloodshed. In consequence of the pacification her soft words and feminine demeanor had effected, the storm passed quietly over." — Vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.

Such was the kind treatment of the reformers by Mary, that, in a letter to Calvin, they praised her very much for "her excellent knowledge of God's word, and her good-will towards the advancement of his glory." About a year before her death, she was unhappily involved in the Catholic League of the time, by which the kings of France and Spain, the Emperor, and the Pope engaged themselves to arrest the progress of Protestantism. Mary protested against the high-handed doings of her hierarchy, and told the members of it they would only drive her subjects into violent rebellion; but she was overborne, and the clergy determined to war uncompromisingly against the growing heresy. The Scottish reformation was not made with rose-water. At the fierce preaching of John Knox, the people became violently excited, and the ecclesiastical architecture of the kingdom suffered everywhere from the hands of the religious Vandals. The Lords of the Congregation and Queen Mary were now at open war. Mary was obliged to appeal to the Duke de Châtelherault for his support. But his influence and that of his son, the Earl of Arran, were soon employed on the most powerful side, that of the Lords. The principle of reform had been very effective and rapid in Scotland. The chief nobility were nearly all opposed to Catholic doctrine and Catholic supremacy. This reformation of the

Scottish nobles furnishes one more instance of the way in which Providence overrules all things to its own high purposes. For, much as the wealth and temporal possessions of the Church in Scotland were denounced as evil and a curse, in their day, to these very things did the great religious change owe all its rapidity and completeness. If the bishops and abbots had not possessed lands and livings to be confiscated and transferred to the proselytes from the peerage, the progress of truth would have been much slower, and the chieftainry would not have shown themselves so promptly and prominently among its votaries.

At this period, all the rebellious *reformadoes* of Scotland were secretly encouraged by Elizabeth, — with a very natural feeling of antipathy against a member of the League by which her legitimate sovereignty was denied and her religion placed under formidable ban. The French regiments, on which Mary of Lorraine was forced to rely, were peculiarly obnoxious to the Scottish barons, who refused to treat with her till she had dismissed them. She was at last obliged to take refuge, first under the guns of Edinburgh castle, held by Lord Erskine, and then, on the appearance of an English fleet in the Forth, in the castle itself. This last step was taken when she heard that Elizabeth had made a treaty with the barons, and that Lord Grey de Wilton was advancing from the Border to drive her out of Edinburgh. The retention of her French army was a great cause of jealousy and bitterness. But circumstances obliged her to adhere to this policy. Besieged and sick, in the old fortress of Dunedin, Mary, in the 45th year of her age, felt that her last moments were drawing nigh.

"Perceiving that her hours were numbered, she rallied her failing strength to make a final effort for the accomplishment of her long desire of peace. For this purpose she sent an earnest request to the Duke of Châtelherault, and all the nobles then in the neighborhood of Edinburgh, whether friends, rivals, or foes, to attend her for the last time, that she might take her leave of them all. Suspicion was conceived by the Lords of the Congregation that some evil design was premeditated by the royal widow under this touching overture, for an exchange of forgiveness, and an especial council was held for the purpose of considering whether they should comply with her request. 'After delibera-

tion,' says John Knox, 'it was thought expedient that they should speak to her, but not all together, lest that some part of the Guisian's practice had lurked under the color of such friendship.' The dying Princess, whom they wronged by these unworthy conjectures, welcomed all those who ventured to obey her summons with a burst of generous feeling that moved many of them to tears. She expressed her regret for the miseries of the afflicted realm, and the discussions which had unhappily contributed to those evils, lamenting that any thing in her conduct should have induced them to seek support of any other than of their own Sovereign, requesting them to forgive her, as she did them, for all that had been the cause of strife on either side. Then, alluding to her supposed preference of her own country, she did not deny her love for France, but said, with deep emotion, 'For my own part, I did ever favor the weal of the realm of Scotland, (as well as France,) by reason I had the honor to be Queen-Regent thereof, and my daughter heritable Queen of the same; and if ever I did or attempted any thing which appeared to the nobles contrary to this declaration, I affirm that it has been from lack of wisdom not for want of love,' meekly adding that, if God would prolong her days, she would amend the same; and if it pleased him to call her to his mercy, she prayed them all most earnestly to return to their duty to the Queen, her daughter, their Sovereign, and to dismiss the armies both of France and England as soon as it could be accomplished. Nor did she omit to point out to them the danger they would incur, if they expelled the French and suffered the English to remain, showing them 'that the English Government had used them hitherto but as political tools, intending nothing else than the subjugation of Scotland; she greatly feared,' she said, 'that, if they allowed the English to remain after the departure of the French, they would find them inconvenient guests: therefore she prayed every good Scotchman to have respect to the liberty and welfare of his country.' She called to their remembrance 'the benefits Scotland had been accustomed to derive from the ancient alliance with France, which,' she assured them, 'they should find more to their advantage than ever, on account of the tender bond of union which the marriage between the Sovereigns of those realms had knit,' beseeching them not to forego the good that might be derivable from that connection. Feeling herself exhausted by the length and earnestness of her discourse, she desired to take her final leave of all present, beseeching them, with many tears, 'to forgive her every thing wherein she had displeased them since her arrival in Scotland,' and assured them, 'that she did from her heart pardon all they had done against her.' To excuse

all they had said must have been a difficult exercise of Christian charity; but, in doing so, Mary of Lorraine proved how greatly they had misrepresented her — for an aggressor rarely forgives. In token that she parted in peace and love with friend and foe, she kissed and embraced the nobles one by one without respect to party, and gave her hand to persons of lower degree, bidding them all farewell with gentle words, and looks full of sweetness. Sterner eyes than hers melted with unwonted softness during this mournful scene. The reformed nobles, anxious for her spiritual weal, entreated her not to rely on the ceremonial observances of her own church, but to send for one of the preachers of the true Evangile. The dying Queen consented to admit Willock, with whom she was personally acquainted, and communed with him a reasonable time. He enlarged on the efficacy of the atonement of a crucified Redeemer, and this the world-weary Queen fully admitted, professing openly her conviction 'that there was no salvation but through the death of Jesus Christ.' Then Willock descanted on 'the vanity and abomination of the mass:' to these observations Mary of Lorraine offered no rejoinder. She became speechless some hours before death; her last articulate words appear to have been her emphatic declaration of her reliance for pardon and acceptance through the atoning merits and sacrifice of Christ; 'and thus,' says Spottiswood, 'ended her life most Christianly.'" Vol. ii. pp. 236, 237, 238.

The last biography in these volumes is that of the Lady Margaret Douglas, born, as the reader is aware, in the rude border fortress of Harbottle. Her mother was then wife of Archibald, Earl of Angus. Little Margaret spent some of her earliest days in London, under the protection of her uncle, Henry VIII.; and was then, at the age of eighteen months, carried back to Scotland. When three years old, her father took her away from her mother, to his castle of Tantallon. He was an unsettled and outlawed man, known to be the friend and pensioner of the English King. In all his wanderings in the border districts, he took his child with him, who, the niece of a king and the daughter of a queen, promised, in some sort, to be a protection to a man in his condition. On his return from his French exile, he brought her back with him. When James V. came to the throne in 1528, Lord Angus was again forced to fly into England, and hover about the borders, his daughter and some ladies of the house of Douglas bearing him company. At last, Margaret's aunt, Mary Tudor, Queen Dowager of France, and widow of

the Duke of Suffolk, had her brought to London, where she was placed by Henry VIII. about the person of his daughter Mary. The two princesses became attached friends, and Henry treated his niece with great kindness. At the birth of Elizabeth, her mother, Queen Anne Boleyn, made Margaret first lady of honor to the infant princess. The household of the princess Mary was broken up, and she herself brought to live in the nursery of her sister, while the Scottish princess was considered next in rank to the latter. At this time, Lord Thomas Howard fell in love with Lady Margaret, and, in 1536, contracted a private marriage with her at the palace of Westminster. In May of that year, Henry's executioner took off Anne Boleyn's head, and parliament was ordered to declare Elizabeth illegitimate, as well as her elder sister. He next ordered Lord Thomas and his niece to be sent to the Tower for marrying without his consent. Lady Margaret was the nearest legitimate heir to the throne at that time; and the King's anger burned fiercely against all relations of his late wife, whose uncle Lord Thomas was. After a few months' confinement, the princess was removed to Sion Abbey, on the banks of the Thames. At the end of a year — on the birth of Prince Edward — Lady Margaret was released. A short time after, Lord Thomas died in the Tower, of intermittent fever.

Subsequently, the three princesses, Mary, Elizabeth, and Margaret, were domesticated together at Hunsdon. In 1541, the latter had another love-making, and with another Howard, — Lord Charles. For this, she was a second time sent to Sion Abbey, and thence to Kennington Hall, the seat of the Duke of Norfolk. In 1543, on the death of James V., her father, Earl Angus, coming back from France, went to Scotland for the purpose of securing the hand of the infant Mary for Prince Edward. In 1543, the Lady Margaret was married to Matthew Darnley Stuart, Earl of Lennox, another traitor, who received the niece of Henry VIII., and her dowry, on condition of surrendering certain towns and castles in Scotland to the English king, and promoting the alliance on which Henry had set his heart. The Earl then left his bride, in order to head a body of troops on the Border against his native land, in which occupation he passed a great many years of his dishonorable life. The first child of Lady Mar-

garet and Lennox died in infancy. In 1545, she gave birth to another son, father of the first king of England and Scotland — Henry Lord Darnley, afterwards so fatally married to Mary Queen of Scots. At Temple Newsome, in the North, the Lady Margaret had her son very carefully educated in the tenets of the Catholic Church. His tutor was John Elder, from the Highlands, a great linguist and penman, who always signed himself John Redshank — the common name for all Highlanders in the south. The Countess of Lennox — or, as it was spelled, *Levenax* — had eight children, only two of whom lived to become historical personages. She was present at court on the coronation of Queen Mary of England, and took precedence, says the French ambassador, Noailles, of the princess Elizabeth, greatly to the vexation of the latter. At the marriage of the Queen with Philip, Lady Margaret also appeared as Mary's purse-bearer. "At that part of the ceremony where the bridegroom puts money on the book of the priest, in token of endowing his bride, Philip laid three handfuls of Mexican gold, mingled with silver, on the missal; whereupon the Scottish princess swept the money into her purse with an eagerness that made Mary smile; for, in their youth, she and Lady Margaret had known together much of the trouble experienced by those whose birth and pretensions are higher than their means."

Under the tutorship of Redshank, the young Lord Darnley became a clever chirographer. Miss Strickland quotes a complacent epistle of the pedagogue concerning his pupil, as follows: —

"'I have sent your Lordship,' writes John Elder to Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, 'certain verses and adages written with the hand of the Lord Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, your nephew, which he wrote this time twelvemonth, I being with him then at Temple Newsome, in Yorkshire. And what praise your Lordship may think him worthy for this his towardness in writing, being yet [now] not fully nine years of age; the like [same] praise is he worthy, surely, for his towardness in the Latin tongue and the French, and in sundry other virtuous qualities, whom also God and nature hath endowed with a good wit, *genteelness*, beauty, and favor. So, if it may please God to lend him long life, he shall prove a witty, virtuous, and an active, well-learned gentleman, whose noble parents are my singular good patrons. Trusting that your good Lordship, of your accustomed humanity

and gentleness, will accept this, my simple letter, in good part, I most humbly beseech the King of kings and Lord of lords long to preserve and keep your reverend Lordship in health, wealth, and a fortunate felicity, with a merry, and many new years.'" Vol. ii. p. 316.

On the death of Queen Mary, the Countess of Lennox and her husband came to court, and were politely received by Elizabeth. But the Queen regarded both with suspicion and dislike. Their son, Darnley, a Catholic, was the nearest in succession to both realms of the island, — after Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots. At this time, indeed, the Lennoxes were negotiating the reversal of the Earl's outlawry in Scotland, and seeking permission for him to go back to that country and to the enjoyment of his patrimony. But the English privy council sent orders to the Duke of Norfolk to take heed of Lennox and his wife, who resided at Settrington, in Yorkshire, and neither let them go into Scotland, nor let any Scots come over the border to them. Queen Elizabeth sat uneasily on her throne, knowing that the Stuarts and the Catholics looked on her as illegitimate, and would deprive her of the crown if they could. Settrington House was the centre of much speculation and correspondence with the French court; and the Queen and Council employed spies to go backward and forward between that place and London, and even to live in the house, and watch the words and movements of the family. William Forbes, and two young ladies who were under the protection of the Countess, were the betrayers of the household confidence; and in this way was Queen Elizabeth made aware of the projected marriage of Mary Queen of Scots (now widow of the French King) with Lord Darnley. Forbes, in a letter recently discovered at the State Paper office, says, "I know the despatch of the Lord of Gaston, (emissary of the court of France,) after the death of the last French King, with letters to France to the Queen of Scots, from my Lady Lennox, *by my Lord Darnley delivered at Orleans to the Queen*, brought answer of her hand in French." The King of France had recently died at Orleans. Thus it is now shown, beyond a doubt, that Mary knew her tall boyish cousin, Darnley, very well, before she saw him in Scotland — knew him in the lifetime of her husband the King, dur-

ing which the lad made several secret expeditions between Settrington and the French court. Little did she dream, when she there greeted young Henry Stuart on several occasions, that she should afterwards wed him, and encourage (tacitly, we believe,) his enemies to destroy him by a terrible death. The marriage of the widow with Darnley was doubtless agreed upon while she still remained in France.

Queen Elizabeth was enraged to know that the two heirs of the throne of England had agreed to strengthen their claim by uniting it. She sent messengers to Settrington, and had the whole family taken up, and jolted off to London in caravans. They were all at once imprisoned. Lord Lennox was sent to the Tower; Lady Margaret and her little son, Lord Charles Stuart, to Sheen. Young Darnley had managed to escape, and was concealed in the metropolis. Lady Margaret kept up a correspondence with Secretary Cecil, asking to know of what she and her husband were suspected. But her letters were to little purpose, and she pleaded in vain for the release of her husband. At last, after a year's imprisonment, he was permitted to go to her, at Sheen. Soon after, they were dismissed to Settrington. In 1564, Lady Margaret obtained leave for her husband to go to Scotland, to receive his inheritance and rank. In this year, Darnley and his mother were well received at the English court. The Queen was extremely desirous to keep him away from Scotland, where that conquering beauty, Mary Stuart, now sat on the throne of her ancestors. The following little extract from Melville's Memoirs will show the secret feelings of Elizabeth.

"There was a grand supper at Cecil House, of which the Queen and her cousin Margaret partook. Lord Darnley bore the sword before her Majesty on all occasions of regal ceremony, such being then the office of the Prince nearest to the throne. He thus assisted at the creation of Elizabeth's favorite, Lord Robert Dudley, Sept. 29, as Earl of Leicester — a creation which ostensibly took place for the purpose of rendering him of a rank more suitable to his pretensions, as suitor to Mary, Queen of Scots. Elizabeth asked the Scotch ambassador, Melville, who was present, 'how he liked her newly-created Earl?' Melville replied, 'As he was a worthy subject, so he was happy in serving a Princess who could discern and reward good service.' 'Yet,' resumed Elizabeth, reproachfully, 'ye like better of

yonder lang lad,' pointing toward my Lord Darnley, who that day bore the sword of honor before her. 'My answer,' continues Melville, 'was, that no woman of spirit would make choice of sic a man — that was liker a woman than a man, for he was lusty [lovely], beardless, and lady-faced.' 'I had na will,' continues the deceitful diplomatist, 'that the Queen of England should think I liked Lord Darnley, or had any eye or dealing that way; albeit I had a secret charge to deal with his mother, the Lady Lennox, *to purchase leave* for him to pass to Scotland, where his father was already, that he might see the country, and convey the Earl of Lennox, his father back again into England.'" — Vol. ii. pp. 356, 357.

Lord Darnley left London in 1565, being then nineteen years old, and proceeded to Scotland. Lady Margaret kept up a correspondence with her son and husband, and with Mary. In one of her letters, she says that the Queen of England's displeasure against the approaching marriage of Darnley was "full of affectations." Every thing the Lady Margaret wrote to Scotland was carried back to Elizabeth, by means of Mary Beton, then at Holyrood. Down came the royal myrmidons again, carried Lady Margaret away from little Lord Charles, (whom Lady Knevet charitably took to her own house,) dispersed the household, and confiscated the property. Lennox and Darnley were ordered back to London; and a plot was even set on foot to arrest and give them up to the governor of Berwick. Seeing that England had long paid Lennox the wages of treason, the Queen thought she had a claim on his obedience, and a right to lay hold of him, if he should prove recusant. The Queen of Scots (now married to Darnley) and the King of France wrote letters to Elizabeth, asking the release of the Countess. Elizabeth, in return, sent Mr. Tamworth to make explanations; but Mary refused to see him, only sending him a letter for the Queen of England, in which she demanded to be declared heir to the English throne, and the Lady Margaret next heir. We may easily conceive that such a missive was not at all calculated to mollify the Tudor heart of Elizabeth. Lady Margaret continued in the Tower, in a downcast and almost destitute condition. Miss Strickland says: —

"In preparation for the cold weather, the Queen, or her Lord-

Treasurer, Winchester, vouchsafed that a few needful articles of clothing and furniture should be supplied to her unfortunate captive in the Tower. Considering the rage for rich clothing, and fur, and jewels, prevalent at that day, they seem almost humble, and acquit 'the Lady Margaret's Grace' of bestowing much expense on her own person. In the course of September, 1565, she received necessaries according to a list still extant in the State Paper office, thus headed —'A note of such things as the Lady Margaret Lennox hath great need of in the Tower. Item, two petticoats — the one scarlet, the other of crimson silk; a gown of black velvet, furred with konnye' — being merely humble rabbit-skins, to keep her from the cold: no rich linings of ermine or miniver are enumerated. 'Item, a night-gown of satin, furred with the same. Item, a round kirtle of black velvet. A piece of Holland cloth, at 3s. 4d. the ell. Sixteen ells of Holland cloth, for kerchers and rails, at 6s. per ell,' to make handkerchiefs and chemisettes. There was a supply of three yards of another sort of Holland, perhaps cambric, to make partlets, as high as 10s. a yard. Likewise, for the wearing of the imprisoned lady, 'a French hood, a cornet or white cap, and a billiment,' which means the borders of the cap front — whether of white lace, like those worn by Mary Queen of Scots, or of gems. Twelve pair of hose or stockings, and six pair of velvet shoes, two pair of slippers, and two pair of *moyles*, or mules — being half slippers, like the Oriental ones, with no backs to them. Bedding was among the articles of which the Lady Margaret stood in need at the Tower. There was a *verdegall*, which must be a farthingale, or rather the stiffened structure which supported that formidable circle, packed with some bedding — to wit, a rug, a quilt, and a pair of fustians [bolsters or pillows of feather-bed tickings,] and two pair of sheets. She had furniture, consisting of a dining-table, six joint stools, a green table-cover, a chair, and two little covered stools to sit on — being evidently tabourets; a side-cupboard, and a table to brush on; four table-cloths, four cupboard-cloths, and two dozen napkins; eight platters — apparently wooden ones, as pewter was always mentioned in those days with almost as much reverence as plate; eight dishes, eight saucers, four porringers, a basin, a ewer, and a great basin for the chamber. A pair of creepers, a fire-pan, and a pair of tongs, constituted the fire-place furniture — the creepers are still used in the north, as a sort of double triangle to set toast upon. There was likewise a pair of bellows and snuffers. The plate used by the second lady in the land was not remarkable for its luxury, consisting only of a salt-cellar, two silver spoons, and a cup for drinking." — Vol ii. pp. 364, 365.

In the afternoon of February 19, 1567, the unhappy Countess received in her dungeon the news of the catastrophe of the Kirk of Field, and also of the assassination of her husband; this last, however, was a false report. Medical and clerical assistance were found to be immediately necessary to the condition of the poor lady; "her anguish moved even the diplomatic heart of Cecil to pity." Miss Strickland, quoting Cecil, (who remarks that Melville, on his arrival from Scotland, could not give them more news of the bloody event than they had already known,) says, "Melville probably suspected that no one was more likely to be acquainted with the minutest particulars than Cecil." This would seem to imply an English instigation of the murder. If space permitted, it were worth while to go into the historic evidence that may be bought to bear upon this view of the subject.

A month after her son's death, Lady Lennox was liberated by Elizabeth, who, however, left her to pay her own prison charges. Lady Margaret now sojourned at Sheen, without pecuniary resources, and almost broken-hearted. When Bothwell carried off and married the Queen of Scots, Lennox left Scotland, and was permitted to join his comfortless wife in England. The wretched pair were the most vehement accusers of Mary as the murderess of their son, though it seems remarkable that it was not till she had married Bothwell that they denounced her. Under such circumstances, Queen Elizabeth's heart was softened; she sent for Lennox and his wife, and listened favorably to their lamentations. But she still held their estates. In reply to their humble petition, she would concede no more than that her agent should pay them the rents. In a little time, the consoling news came to them that their grandchild, James, was a crowned King, and that Mary had abdicated at Lochleven. The document wrung from the Queen of Scots, by the lords of the regency, was sent to London, and safely deposited in Elizabeth's *escritoire*.

When Mary had taken refuge in England, after the battle of Langside, Lady Margaret and her husband hastened to court. "The lady's face," says a contemporary, "was all swelled and stained with tears;" and she and her lord wore the deepest mourning. They knelt before the Queen, and

Lady Margaret cried so passionately for vengeance, that Elizabeth affected to soothe her with consoling words, and finished by reproving her, saying such accusations must not be made against the good name of a princess without further proof. If the saying of Louis XI. of France be true, that to know how to dissimulate is to know how to reign, Queen Elizabeth must be allowed to have filled her throne worthily. The Earl of Lennox also made an appeal for justice, before the court, demanding an investigation of the murder; whereupon, in 1569, he and his countess were, at last, allowed to go where they would; and they proceeded to Settrington.

But they were doomed to rest no more. In a little time, on the death of the Regent Murray,— who had been preparing the Protestant young James for the succession of a Protestant throne, — Lennox, with the approval of Elizabeth, went into Scotland to look after the interests of the infant King, and, if necessary, give him up into the hands of the Queen of England. It was now admitted that the boy was heir of the two thrones. Elizabeth, whose influence among the reformed lords of Scotland was all-powerful, procured the appointment of Lennox as Regent. The latter, however, did not mean to be as subservient as the Queen desired. Lady Margaret was now made first Lady at Windsor Castle, and was considered to be in high favor at court. Soon after this, she received the following letter from Mary Queen of Scots, which Miss Strickland believes to "breathe the honest pride of conscious innocence."

"MADAM, — If the wrong and false reports of rebels, enemies well known for traitors to you, and alas! too much trusted of me by your advice, had not so far stirred you against my innocency, and I must say against all kindness, that you have not only, as it were, condemned me wrongfully, but so hated me, as some words and open deeds has testified to all the world, a manifest misliking in you against your own blood, I would not have omitted thus long my duty in writing to you, excusing me of these untrue reports made of me. But hoping, with God's grace and time, to have my innocency known to you, as I trust it is already to most indifferent persons, I thought it best not to trouble you for a time, till such a matter is moved that toucheth us both, which is transporting your little son [*grandson, James VI.,*] and

my only child into this country. To the which, albeit I be never so willing, I would be glad to have your advice therein, as in all other things tending him. I have borne him, and God knows with what danger to him and me both, and of you he is descended. So I mean not to forget my duty to you in showing herein any unkindness to you, how unkindly that ever ye have dealt with me, but will love you as my aunt, and respect you as my *moder*-in-law. And if ye please to know farther of my mind, in that and all other things betwixt us, my embassador, the Bishop of Ross, shall be ready to confer with you. And so, after my hearty commendations remitting me to my said embassador, and your better consideration, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God, whom I pray to preserve you and my brother Charles [*Lord Charles Lennox*,] and cause you to know my part better than ye now do.

" From Chatsworth, this x of July, 1570.

" Your natural gude niece and loving daughter.

" To my Ladie Lennox, my Moder-in-law."

Vol. ii. pp. 380, 381.

In 1571, the Regent Lennox was shot by Captain Calder, near Stirling. After his indifferent life, nothing became him so much as the leaving it, — his great anxiety for the safety and welfare of the young king remaining to the last. Queen Elizabeth first broke this news to the Lady Margaret. Her son, Lord Charles Stuart, was the only consolation now left to the widow. She committed his education to the care of Cecil, Lord Burleigh, seeing that the boy as yet had had very little instruction. Burleigh provided him with a Protestant tutor, Lord Charles being a possible inheritor of the throne. His mother now began to speculate concerning his marriage. She asked permission of Elizabeth to go to Settrington, on pretext that some of her Scottish friends meant to steal away the young king and bring him to London. Elizabeth strongly suspected, (what seems to have been the truth,) that Lady Margaret desired to have some communication with Mary Queen of Scots, now detained at Sheffield. Before the Countess went to the north, she asked Elizabeth, in reply to some close question of the Queen, if she could be brought " to forget the murder of her son." To this, Elizabeth answered, that " she were a devil if she would." Lady Margaret and Lord Charles went to the north in 1574 ; and being invited by Lady Shrewsbury to sojourn at her house of

Rufford, thirty miles from Sheffield, the young Lord and Lady Elizabeth Cavendish (daughter of the hostess) fell mutually in love, and were married under the direction of the dowager.

When Queen Elizabeth heard of this marriage, she resolved to incarcerate all concerned in it, — after her father's manner on such vexatious occasions, and, indeed, after her own custom. She ordered Lady Lennox, her son, and his bride, back to London, and on their arrival there, they were commanded not to leave their residence. In a few days, the poor widow was taken and carried once more to the Tower. With a high-handed impartiality, Queen Elizabeth had the Countess of Shrewsbury also shut up in that regal fortress. In about a year, Lady Margaret was released, and allowed to go back to Hackney; but it was only to see her son, Lord Charles, her last earthly comfort, dying of consumption. He soon died, leaving one daughter, — one of those "silent strings, sending no sound to posterity," of which Fuller speaks, — the shadowy Lady Arabella Stuart, of James the First's reign. Poor Lady Margaret now felt "that all was over on this side the tomb;" and she turned her thoughts to the great change which was approaching. She had, at this time, and, it is believed, a long time previously, regarded Queen Mary as innocent of her son's murder, and entered into amicable correspondence with her, and asked her pardon for the past vehement accusations. This last fact is stated in one of Queen Mary's letters, in the Labanoff collection. In March, 1578, the Earl of Leicester came to see the Countess, at Hackney, and stayed to dinner. In a short time after his departure, she was seized with a painful illness, and after disposing of her affairs, died in two days. The Earl was strongly suspected of having poisoned her. But as there was no very powerful motive for such an act, it may safely be disbelieved. The Lady Margaret died poor, and was buried by the Queen in Henry VII.'s chapel, where James I. subsequently caused the remains of his father Darnley also to be interred.

With this biography closes the present series. The Life of Mary Queen of Scots is to form a separate and elaborate work, in which Miss Strickland will sustain the arguments of those who assert the innocence of Mary as regards the mur-

der of Darnley. In forming a judgment of that unfortunate princess, we should always allow for the false or prejudiced accounts put forth in Elizabeth's time to justify the long imprisonment and death of her sister queen, and for the Protestant leanings and beliefs of succeeding writers on this subject.

Art. V. — *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, illustrating the Arms, Arts, and Literature of Italy, from* 1440 *to* 1630. By James Dennistoun, of Dennistoun. London: Longmans. 1851. 3 vols. 8vo.

These sumptuous volumes, illustrated with engravings in the highest style of art, naturally invite comparison with Roscoe's Histories of Lorenzo de' Medici and Leo the Tenth. The object of both writers is to review the history of Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that brilliant period when the arts of design attained a perfection and splendor to which the earlier and later annals of the world afford but one parallel, the age of Pericles in Greece. The political aspect of Greece and Italy at these remarkable epochs, nearly two thousand years distant from each other, was nearly the same; each was a confused aggregate of turbulent republics and petty despotisms. In neither case was the marvellous development of art attributable to peace, order, and good government. On the contrary, the imperishable monuments of painting, sculpture, and architecture were created at times and places that were racked with political crimes, intestine commotions, and constant wars. So great is the similarity in external character of the two periods, that it almost tempts one to accept the theory of De Vico, and believe that the history of the world repeats itself at regularly recurring epochs, the same human nature, operating by the same laws, constantly tending to produce the same results.

It is an enticing, but by no means an easy task, to write the history of the Augustan age of Italian art. The subject is a magnificent one, but it has the inherent defect of a want of unity both of time and place. The picture, in order to be

complete, must represent the development of the arts in connection with the political events of the times, and with the characters and biographies of all its eminent personages. But the history of Italy during the fifteenth and sixteen centuries is a chaos, wherein there are almost as many separate threads of narrative as there were cities, each being intwined with all the others, and also with the political annals of Germany, France, and Spain into one inextricable snarl. Sismondi's History of the Italian Republics is a monument of patient labor and historical skill in the grouping of events, and it has many engaging qualities of style; but it is the most tiresome of all narratives, from the difficulty of keeping in view the many strands of which it is composed, and of tracing results to their numerous and complicated causes. And where is the scene of the main action of the drama to be laid? Rome has preëminent claims to be considered as the mistress of Italy, and the greatest profusion of the enduring monuments of art is still found within its walls. But Florence has at least an equal right to be considered as the birthplace of modern Italian art, and the claims of Venice are not to be forgotten. The history of each of these cities is at the same time distinct, and complicated with that of all the others. Besides, the history of Rome, in the middle ages and in modern times, is virtually a history of the Popes, whose dynasty is not continued in one family line, but is perpetually branching off, compelling its annalist to hunt up the records, now of the most obscure, and now of the most illustrious, families in Italy. The want of unity is more conspicuous in this case than in any other. Yet if either Florence, Venice, or Naples is taken as the principal theatre of events, the story will appear rather as an episode in Italian affairs than as a complete history.

Roscoe adopted a judicious plan to overcome the difficulties of the subject. He selected, for the principal figures on his canvas, two members of a family distinguished above all others for the patronage of art, and who reigned within a short period of each other,— the one, a virtual sovereign, at Florence, and the other at Rome. The history of Leo X. is a natural continuation of the history of Lorenzo de' Medici; and the two combined may be made, with a little effort, to cover most of what is important and interesting, both in the history of the country and the age, and in the development of Italian

art at its most brilliant epoch. There was necessarily some straining of the rules of historical perspective to make the interest throughout appear to centre upon these two potentates; and in spite of this straining, a good deal of episodical and illustrative matter was heaped up, which had but a faint connection with what was seemingly the chief design. If Roscoe had modified his plan a little, so as to make the work a history of the Medici family in Italy, from the time of the good Duke Cosmo, "the Father of his Country," or even of John de' Medici, to the end of the reign of Cosmo II., Grand duke of Florence, who died in 1621, the two principal members of this princely house would not have appeared unduly prominent on the larger canvas, many of the minor details respecting them, which now only crowd the picture and lessen its effect, might have been omitted, and whatever was most striking in the history of Rome and Florence, and in the progress of Italian literature and art, for nearly two centuries, might have been introduced in strict subordination to the main design. The papacy of Clement VII., in a historical point of view, is quite as important as that of Leo X. The greater compass of the work, if executed on this plan, would naturally have changed it from a minute history into a grand historical sketch, in which the mutual relations of the leading characters and events would have been more distinctly perceived, and the minor incidents and personages would have been pushed into the background.

Mr. Dennistoun has attempted to write the history of this period, upon the modification of Roscoe's plan here suggested, but with the disadvantage of being compelled, in order to avoid the appearance of following his predecessor too closely, to select a family much less distinguished than the Medici for their patronage of art, and having, in other respects, but a very disputable claim to be regarded as leading characters in the drama. Only three members of the ducal house of Urbino played either a prominent or a reputable part in the history of their times; and even their names are not so well known, but that the small portions of Mr. Dennistoun's work which relates exclusively to their character and conduct will have to most readers all the attractions of novelty. That Raffaele, the prince of painters, was born there, is about the only circumstance that has rendered the name of Urbino

famous; we may suppose that it also first suggested to our author the idea of writing the Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, as a means of "illustrating the arms, arts, and literature of Italy from 1440 to 1630," a period which includes the golden age of art in that country. The work necessarily appears rambling and episodical, when viewed with reference only to its professed subject; the author confesses that he has been obliged to consider the actions of the nominal heroes of his story "as subsidiary to the general current of events." It contains some new matter, which has been disinterred by unwearied research in the copious repositories of manuscripts, which abound in Italy, and which will continue to afford inedited material to historians for centuries to come. Facts thus dragged to light are apt to be overprized by their discoverer, who naturally measures their importance by the amount of labor which it has cost to obtain them. Mr. Dennistoun has given place, in the text of his volumes, to several insignificant letters and other documents, hitherto unpublished, which might well be banished to the appendix, or omitted altogether. He has written history somewhat in the spirit of an antiquarian and a virtuoso; but without the blindness of taste, which characterizes the one, or the petty dilettanteism, which is the besetting sin of the other. The narrative is generally free and spirited; the story of the fearful crimes of the Borgia family, of the terrible sack of Rome by the Constable Bourbon's army, and of the patronage of art and letters by the Medici and the Della Rovere family, has never been better told in English than in these volumes. As the work is not likely to be republished in this country, we shall draw largely from its pages for the entertainment of our readers.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the greater part of Italy was parcelled out into little republics, and military fiefs held by nobles who paid only a nominal allegiance to the Popes or the Emperors of Germany. Commerce and successful warfare had enlarged the territories of the Venetian republic, and rendered it opulent and powerful, so that its sway in the north of the peninsula balanced that of the king of Naples in the south. The rest of Italy was the scene of bitter strife between the Guelph and Ghibelline factions, and of the unceasing dissensions and private wars that were created by local and temporary causes. The republican commu-

nities, and the petty princes who affected to continue by hereditary right a dominion first acquired by the sword or by popular election, were alternately at bitter feud and in strict alliance with each other; and the character of their internal administration varied almost from year to year, according to the temper and capacity of the reigning prince, or of the faction which, for the hour, had gained the ascendency. Usurpations and revolutions were incessant. The smaller republics purchased the military protection of a neighboring chieftain by acknowledging his sovereignty over them and paying him tribute, or they hired him and his little army to defend them for a given period, or to ward off a particular danger. Then they sought to strengthen their position by obtaining charters of privileges from the emperors, whose nominal vassal menaced their independence; or they formed petty leagues for mutual aid. Bands of mercenary troops, led by a nobleman or a military adventurer, offered their services for hire to any one who would employ them, making no inquiry into the merits of the contest, and changing sides in the war without scruple, if the opposite party offered higher wages. Fighting from such motives, they took good care not to hazard life or limb more than was absolutely necessary. The military tactics of the period were dilatory and cautious. Armies marched and countermarched, almost in sight of each other, during a whole campaign, only seeking an opportunity to plunder each other's baggage, or to sack a town, if they could take it by surprise. If they ever came to blows, the imperfection of the fire-arms then in use, and the heavy defensive armor which was worn, made the list of casualties very small. No reputation was sacrificed by running away, if the opposite party gained the slightest advantage. A town or other fortified place was attacked only by surprise or a protracted blockade; such troops would not expose their lives by mounting a breach, or attempting to scale the walls in face of the garrison.

When warfare was thus conducted, greater triumphs were often achieved by diplomacy, and by all the villanous arts which were made subservient to it, than by the sword. An astute priest, who knew when and where to seek allies, how to negotiate treaties to advantage, to cut off a formidable opponent by inciting treachery in his own camp or household, to hire assassins, or even to offer a poisoned draught with his

own hands, was more than a match for the ablest military commander. Machiavelli has unveiled the detestable character of the state policy of those times; treachery, conspiracy, and fraud were the agencies which it most willingly employed. Bad as its aims were, the means by which it sought to obtain them were still worse. As many were capable of playing this false game, one wicked scheme was made to baffle another; and this shrewd encounter of wits often saved many innocent lives, which would have been sacrificed in an open and manly conflict. The wiles of unprincipled diplomacy frequently averted or postponed the ravages of the sword.

It seems strange that commerce and the arts should flourish in such a condition of society. Yet the character of the times in certain respects was eminently favorable to them. The independence and rivalry of so many distinct communities called forth the energies and stimulated the efforts of all. The path of ambition was open to every aspirant, however humble his origin. In the Church, the peasant's son might hope to become a Cardinal or a Pope. In war, a daring private soldier might obtain command of a separate body of troops, dispossess a petty count or duke, and found a dynasty. The factitious and hurtful estimate of the relative dignity of various employments, which has obtained in modern society, was then unknown. Commerce was honored as a means of obtaining wealth, which was a surer source of political power and influence than inherited rank. All the handicrafts which admitted of the application of mind and taste, were held in equal repute; a higher order of talent was therefore devoted to them, and the mechanic became an artist instead of a mere artisan. The distinction between the fine and the useful arts was not broadly drawn and jealously guarded, as it is at the present day; and the closer alliance between them was favorable to the progress of both. The architect often handled the tools of the mason, the mason worked with the pride of an architect, and both gloried in the finished results of their common labor. A cunning chiseller of the precious metals, like Benvenuto Cellini, shared with Michael Angelo the patronage of popes and kings. The gains of the most distinguished artists were not large, and certainly bore no proportion to the value which time has set upon their productions. Sovereigns were thus enabled to employ a larger number of them; and

the wealth which was devoted to the encouragement of art produced large results. Neighboring princes and communities vied with each other, not only in arms, but in the grandeur of the public edifices which they constructed, in the extent of their libraries, in the magnificence of their collections of paintings and statuary, in the assemblage of artists and learned men whom their patronage drew together, and in all that could promote the external dignity and splendor of the state. The keen competition of so many rival republics and principalities kept alive public spirit and fostered individual energy. Every private citizen found a theatre near at hand for the exercise of his talents and the development of his ambition. Small independent states and numerous capitals multiply the chances for genius to obtain distinction. In the monster kingdoms into which modern Europe is divided, the great bulk of the population are lost in provincial insignificance, and the metropolis flourishes at the expense of the country, which it overshadows in political influence. In Italy, during the fifteenth century, society was agitated, turbulent, exposed to frequent convulsions, and often a prey to licentiousness and passion; but it was instinct in every part with life and energy. It did not stagnate in monotonous routine and inglorious repose.

"Thus rose the Italian Republics, not, as is often superficially supposed, in the mercantile cities alone, but in almost every township of Upper Italy. Their constitutional forms not only varied from each other, but were constantly fluctuating, under a desire for novelty, the contests of rival factions, and the influence of external events. Republics they were, in so far as they owned no hereditary head. They believed themselves self-governed, because their ever-recurring revolutions were their own act, or at least were effected by their own instrumentality. But the democratic element seldom long existed in purity. After the *emeute* was over, a self-constituted oligarchy, a rich and designing citizen, or an ambitious prelate, often stepped in, to enjoy that power for which the people had fought, until these, roused by some too undisguised tyranny, or by some new caprice, rushed to the piazza, and threw off their masters, leaving it to chance or intrigue to give them new ones.

Lamartine, the eloquent advocate and partially successful hero of popular rights, has admitted that there can be no progress unless 'many interests are injured,' and that 'such transforma-

tions are not operated without great resistance, without an infinity of anguish and private misfortune.' This, however, is no place to raise the question, how far the benefit of so much political liberty was balanced by the inadequate guaranty of person and property, inherent in such a state of things, or whether the security of domestic peace would have been too dearly purchased by a partial sacrifice of popular power. Yet few who argue these points will deny, that whatever influence the republican constitutions of Italy may have had upon the individual happiness of their own citizens, they sowed the seeds of that intelligence, that freedom of thought, that ardent aspiration for the amelioration of mankind, which have ever since so beneficially acted upon European civilization.

The liberty of Italian republics has been frequently misapprehended, and will disappoint those who seek in it such safeguards of life and property as freedom in its modern sense has been understood to afford. Under no form of civilized government were those guaranties more feeble or ineffective than where tyranny of the wayward and irresponsible many was substituted for domination by one. The philosophic Guizot has even condemned these republics as 'utterly irreconcilable with security for life (that first ingredient in social existence) and with progress'; as 'incapable of developing freedom or extending the scope of institutions'; as tending to 'limit their range and concentrate authority in a few individuals.' To these conclusions we must demur, and they appear inconsistent with the just tribute he gracefully pays to the intelligence, wealth, and brilliancy of Italian democracies; to the courage, activity, genius, and general prosperity of their denizens. But the argument and inferences of this French historian are easily reconcilable with a political creed largely prevailing among his countrymen, who find in centralization the triumph of our age, the panacea for social anomalies. To that end has doubtless tended the progress of Europe during the last four centuries, and more especially the present rapid career of events, whether for ultimate weal or woe must be hereafter seen. Yet whilst we hesitate to paint the Ausonian republics in the utopian colors of Sismondi, we cannot adopt the narrow proportions ascribed to them by his less enthusiastic countryman. They filled the peninsula with separate aims and paltry interests, at a time when union was its sole security; yet they trained men to self-government, the first step towards that constitutional freedom without which nationality itself is a questionable boon."—Vol. i. pp. 7–9.

During the period that we are now contemplating, a great revolution took place in the affairs of Italy. The *condottiere*

system, or the almost bloodless contest of one hired general with his mercenary band against another, gave place to standing armies and a national militia. The nepotism and selfish policy of the Popes having involved them in constant wars on their own account, in which their armies were often defeated and their duplicity exposed, and Rome itself having suffered the horrors of a capture and sack by the most licentious soldiery in Europe, the authority and influence of the papal see would have been greatly diminished, even if the movement of Luther and his followers had not menaced its entire subversion. The Pontiff could no longer be an arbitrator in the quarrels of kings, or wage single-handed a triumphal contest with the emperor of Germany; his temporal power became insignificant, and the sufferance or the policy of Austria, France, and Spain alone preserved it from extinction. Italy became a battle-ground for foreigners, and the turbulent independence of its numerous republics and principalities was exchanged for the heavy yoke of a stranger. The glory of its smaller capitals and the spirit of its people departed; its reputation in arts and letters consequently declined, and the sources of its commercial and manufacturing prosperity were dried up. It is a mooted question whether the morality and material well-being of its people were improved or injured by this disastrous eclipse of its renown. Certainly, after this great change, political convulsions were less frequent in its states, the lives of its Popes and princes were less scandalous, the laws were more regularly enforced, war became less frequent, and life and property were more secure. On the other hand, enormous taxation weighed down the energies of the people, and the field of honorable ambition was either closed entirely, or contracted to a span. The language itself became turgid and emasculate; prose and poetry were burdened with unmeaning expletives, petty conceits, and monstrous exaggerations. So rapid was the decline of agriculture, that whole districts lost the fertility for which they were once renowned, and became poor pasture-grounds or untenanted wastes. Population itself became stationary, or in some regions rapidly declined.

The history of the transition period, therefore, becomes a curious study both in social and political philosophy; we seek to derive from it the explanation of two startling phe-

nomena ; — the sudden development of literature and the arts, keeping pace with the republican and independent disposition of the people, and their equally rapid decline, coupled with the almost total extinction of public spirit. The solution of these problems would be interesting at any time ; but it is particularly so at the present day, just after the disastrous failure of the Italians to improve one of the noblest opportunities which was ever offered to a nation for retrieving its independence and establishing institutions adapted to the ideas and the wants of the age. As Mr. Dennistoun has resided in Italy for many years, and has been a devoted student of her history and the genius of her people, his opinion respecting the recent convulsions there is entitled to much weight. We therefore borrow a passage from his Preface, the saddened tone of which does honor to his feelings, if not to his political sagacity.

" A considerable portion of these volumes was written in Italy, before the close of Pope Gregory's reign, and under impressions formed upon the existing state of the country. It has been their author's good fortune to know much of that attractive land during the last twenty years of the long peace, and to admire her substantial prosperity and steady progress. Between 1825 and 1846, he has seen in her cities new streets and squares rising, thoroughfares opened, gas-lights generally introduced, ruinous houses substantially rebuilt, crumbling churches and palaces renovated, shops enlarged and beautified, cafés, hotels, and baths multiplied and decorated, public drives and gardens created, equipages rivalling those of northern capitals, museums formed, galleries enriched, the dress and comforts of the population greatly improved, the street nuisances of Rome removed, the lazzaroni of Naples clothed.

" In the rural districts, he has observed cultivation spreading, waste lands reclaimed, irrigation and drainage carried on, the great highways rendered excellent, whole provinces opened up by new roads, railways rapidly extending, rivers and torrents bridged, palatian villas springing up round the towns and watering-places, banditti suppressed, the peasantry ameliorated in aspect. He has learnt, from crowded ports and spreading factories, that capital was increasing and industry being developed.

" He has also noticed that, without organic changes, the political condition of the people was being modified ; that Tuscany enjoyed the mildest of paternal governments ; that in Lombardy, Piedmont, and Naples, many repressive statutes were in

abeyance; that in Turin and Florence restraints upon the press were tacitly being relaxed; that scientific congresses were generally permitted, and political economy freely discussed; whilst, in regard to Rome, he ascertained the practical truth of a popular sarcasm, that prohibitory laws were usually binding but for three days.

"While conscious of all this progress, the author felt that much remained to be done. He knew that the advance of the country was only comparative, and rendered more apparent by her long previous stagnation. He daily had before him solecisms in policy, errors of administration, official indolence or corruption; above all, ample proofs that priests were no longer adapted for ministers of state. He believed that intellect was needlessly or unwisely shackled, and that, to ardent or speculative minds, the full blaze of knowledge might be less deceptive than a compulsory twilight.

"But, on the other hand, he was deeply convinced that, in material welfare, the Italian people were already far above the average; that any sudden change was more likely to endanger than to augment it; that, to a nation so listless yet so impressionable, so credulous but so suspicious, self-government was a questionable boon; at all events, that the mass of its present generation was infinitely too ignorant and unpractised, possibly too conceited and self-seeking, to comprehend the theory of a constitution, or to perform the duties it would necessarily impose. He knew further, that those who vaguely longed for change were usually blind to the benefits which their country already enjoyed, and had no definite or plausible plan for the removal of its grievances without perilling its advantages. He felt satisfied that, should an occasion ever present itself for testing their Utopian theories, native leaders, united in aims and worthy of their reliance, would be wanting. The movement party in Italy then scarcely numbered a man who had a considerable property to stake, a social position to lend him influence, or tried business habits to gain the confidence of his fellow-citizens. Those who stood prepared to pilot the vessel through revolutionary storms were, for the most part, persons whose detected intrigues, or rash outbreaks, had already driven them, with little credit, into exile, where, cut off from intercourse with home, and associating chiefly with kindred spirits expelled from other lands, they forgot much which it was important to keep in view, and learned little of that candor and moderation which are the true leaven of politics. Neglecting there those practical reforms of which Italy stood really in need, they devoted themselves to one idea. They set up the phantom of political unity as a new faith; they de-

creed that its worship should be the condition of their country's resurrection, and that all who demurred to it should be hunted down. Had they read Dante, or remembered what they hourly had seen, heard, and said in their native land, they would have known that their idol, like the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, was of incongruous and incompatible materials; that their unitarian scheme was antipathic to every passion and prejudice of those upon whom they would thrust it.

"Under such impressions were written the very few allusions to the actual state of Italy which this work contains. The aspirations of her regenerators after nationality and constitutional freedom have since been fostered by her spiritual ruler, and prematurely fired by an explosion of French democracy. Subsequent events, under altered circumstances, may accordingly seem to have invalidated opinions therein expressed; but the end is not yet. The present continues overshadowed by gloom, and the torch of hope glimmers but dimly in the distance. A sincere interest in the country and its people dictates our prayer, that the God of nations may grant an issue realizing the fondest anticipations of genuine patriotism, and eventually crown these struggles with results compensating their recent evils.

"Yet when we recollect the condition of Italy as we left her shores four short years ago, — when we contrast the calm then around her institutions, the stillness of her every-day life, the careless ease of her nobles, the physical enjoyment of her middle classes, the simple well-being of her peasantry under their own vines and fig-trees, — we must sigh to see so much positive happiness perilled for contingent ameliorations which, if ever attained, may, like most political experiments, fail to realize the promised benefits." — Pref. pp. ix. – xii.

Urbino is a rugged and mountainous district, about forty miles square, in the eastern part of central Italy, having a sea-coast on the Adriatic, extending from Rimini to the March of Ancona. Its population, in 1648, after it had devolved to the papal see, was somewhat over two hundred thousand. From an early period, it was renowned as a nursery of hardy, brave, and free-spirited soldiers; and as there were many natural fortresses among its hills, its military strength was considerable. San Leo and Maiuolo, lying near each other in the northern part of the district, were its chief strong-holds, and were reckoned the most impregnable in Italy. They seem to owe their existence to some freak of nature, being two isolated pillars of rock, that rise from the plain to a great

height, perfectly inaccessible on three sides, and approached on the fourth by a narrow and steep winding path, which three men might make good against a thousand. The top of the rock was broad enough to afford space for a small town, beside the castle which occupied the pinnacle. The former of these eagles' nests was the chief perch of the Counts of Montefeltro, who gradually extended their petty military fief, originally held of the Emperor, till it comprehended the city and most of the district of Urbino, of which they received investiture from the Popes of the thirteenth century, and thenceforward derived from it their title. They were daring and fortunate soldiers, who enlarged their territories by conquest, by purchase, and by marriage, till, in 1513, they attained the dimensions which we have described. Their legitimate male line ended in Count Oddantonio, who, in 1444, on account of his cruelties and debaucheries, was slain in his own hall by his outraged subjects, the citizens of Urbino. But he had a bastard brother, Federigo, born in 1422, who had served his military apprenticeship under two of the most renowned *condottieri* in Italy, and soon acquired distinction for himself as a free captain, whose well-trained band of lances followed him to the fight under any standard which offered good pay and hard service. The people of Urbino had rid themselves of a tyrant, but were not disloyal to the family of their rulers; and though the stain on Federigo's birth was an obstacle to his succession in the regular way, they formally elected him to be their lord on a few reasonable conditions, which he gladly accepted and faithfully performed. Thirty years afterwards, he was raised by the Pope to the ducal rank, having previously been appointed Gonfaloniere of the Church, or commander in chief of the papal armies. It was a bright day for Urbino when he became its ruler; the dynasty which he founded continued in his family for one hundred and ninety years, through five successive sovereigns, who were generally beloved at home and respected abroad. His male line, it is true, failed on the death of his son, the good Duke Guidobaldo; but the succession was continued in the family of his daughter, who married Giovanni della Rovere, nephew of Pope Sixtus IV. Their son, Francesco Maria, became the third Duke of Urbino, under the powerful patronage of his uncle, Pope Julius II. The grandson of this

Duke, Francesco Maria II., died without male issue; and Urbino then reverted as a lapsed fief to the Papacy, and was incorporated with the States of the Church, the extinction of its independence taking place at the period which was fatal to many other feudal principalities of Italy. Mr. Dennistoun has written the memoirs of this ducal family, or rather the history of the arts and arms of central Italy, for the time during which they ruled at Urbino.

Cibrario, who is cited by Mr. Dennistoun as a recent writer upon the political economy of the Middle Ages, gives the following account of the military chieftains of central Italy in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Federigo laid the foundations of the prosperity of his house.

"Their feeble and unquiet domination was obtained sometimes by usurpations from rivals, from the people, or from the Church, sometimes by authority wrested originally from pope or emperor, and subsequently sanctioned, which was wielded now with more, now with less, rigor; but all of them were encompassed by a numerous following, were devoted to the profession of mercenary war, and were at once the abettors and dreaders of rebellions, ambushes, poisonings. Various were the vicissitudes of these chiefs. In order to oust a competitor, they would offer large concessions to the Church or the populace, and having attained to sovereignty, would gradually curtail these until the community called in another master, to be in like manner supplanted by a third. In other cases, they compromised their disputes by partitioning cities or principalities. Frequently the Pontiff would favor one faction in order to put down another, and to profit by their mutual strife; again, he would elevate a third over them both, under cloak of freedom. It was, in short, constant wavering between abuses and concessions, tyranny and license; the seigneur intent upon extending his influence, although by dishonest means, the people prompt to diminish it even to anarchy." Vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

Federigo was one of the ablest and most successful of these mercenary chieftains. If estimated according to the opinions of his age, he committed few blunders and still fewer crimes. Yet it sounds strange to hear him praised for good faith and inviolable regard for his engagements, when we find him, in one campaign, fighting at the head of a league against the Florentines, and in the next, combating just as strenuously on their side; leading alternately the forces of Milan,

Venice, the Pope, and Naples to the contest, without any immediate reference to the welfare of his own state, except so far as the liberal wages which he received enabled him to advance its prosperity; in fine, putting up his sword and the lives of his faithful followers for hire to the highest bidder, even though the engagement should compel him to strike first at former friends, who had given him no offence. His campaigns were usually long and inglorious; he suffered few defeats, and obtained few signal triumphs. But this was the fault of the military system and the tactics of his age. Fighting was one of the ordinary gainful employments of life, like the professions of law and medicine; and it was therefore often protracted for the same reason that makes a lawyer reluctant to bring a long suit to a close. Federigo often received a large salary as a sort of retaining fee in times of peace, to prevent him from making an engagement with the enemy, if war should break out. His revenues were consequently much larger than his own dominions could have afforded; and he was thus enabled to favor his people with light taxes, while he gratified their pride by the magnificence of his court.

Instead of following Federigo's career in the numerous but unimportant wars in which he was almost constantly engaged, we prefer turning to the more attractive picture of his domestic life, the arrangements of his court, and the internal administration of his dominions. Considering that he was a mercenary soldier, most of whose life was spent in the camp, fighting for any party that would purchase his services, however unjust their cause might be, one is surprised to learn that, at home, he was a wise and liberal prince, just and humane in his government, a generous patron of letters and the arts, and indefatigable in his efforts to promote the welfare of his subjects. Kind and affable in his demeanor, he sought every opportunity to become acquainted even with the lowest class of the people, to learn their wants and listen to their complaints, and to do all that was in the power of a prince to render them happy. We might suspect that the encomiums bestowed upon him by his contemporaries were exaggerated, after the fulsome manner of Italian eulogies; but the striking fact that, in those turbulent times, no insurrection or general commotion took place among his people,

no conspiracies were formed by them, and no advantage was ever taken of his frequent and long absences from home, seems to justify them all. Though he first obtained his position only by popular choice, the most uncertain of all titles in a revolutionary age, no competitor ever rose to dispute it with him, and no defection from his banners ever subjected him to loss or disgrace in the field. The best tribute to his reputation was the affection which the people cherished for his memory after his decease; which feeling was so strong in them that it contributed not a little to the stability of the government of his descendants. The general tenor of his administration is indicated by an anecdote that is told of him. To repress private brawls and tumults, he had required the *podesta* to issue a proclamation forbidding the people to carry any weapon about their persons. Taking care to be in the street when the crier went round to make the proclamation, after his suite had heard it, he unbuckled his sword and gave it to an attendant to carry home, saying that the law was a reasonable one, and that it was his duty to set an example of obedience. Many similar stories were repeated of him, and long preserved by tradition at Urbino; so that, whether true or false in all their particulars, they show conclusively what a grateful recollection the people had of his merits as a ruler.

Among the regular attendants of his court, as we find from a curious list of his household preserved in manuscript at the Vatican, were four teachers of grammar, logic, and philosophy, five architects and engineers, five readers during meals, and four copyists for the library, besides many who were employed to transcribe manuscripts for him in other cities of Italy. The collection thus formed of costly illuminated manuscripts, each being a complete copy of the work or the author, and every book being bound in crimson ornamented with silver, was unique, and is still preserved by itself among the choice treasures of the Vatican. The Duke is said to have expended 30,000 ducats upon it; having begun by following as a guide the catalogue of St. Mark's library, then reputed to be the best in Italy, he ended by rendering his own collection absolutely unrivalled, so that many distinguished scholars were attracted to Urbino for the purpose of consulting it. Ruscelli, with whom Ficinus concurs,

says it is "notorious that the earliest and most famous collection formed out of the ruins of antiquity was that of Urbino, whence many excellent authors were edited, and copies supplied." Besides a very complete set of the Latin and Greek classics, it contained the writings of the fathers of the Church and the most distinguished theologians, together with the best treatises on science, the standard works on civil law, and a selection of modern authors, among whom Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio had the place of honor. Vespasiano, an agent of the Duke in amassing these treasures, and subsequently his librarian, says, "he had the Bible, that best of books, written in two volumes, with the richest and most beautiful illustrations, bound in brocade of gold, and lavishly ornamented with silver; and he made it be thus gorgeously adorned as the chief of all literature, and it has no equal in our time." Another magnificent transcript of the Scriptures was obtained by the Duke while he was in the Florentine service, as a reward for the capture of Volterra; one account says, that much plunder being obtained by the sack of this city, the general made great efforts to save the lives of the citizens, and contented himself with this Hebrew Bible for his own share of the booty.

These two splendid manuscripts are still preserved in the Urbino collection at the Vatican, and our author gives an account of them in the Appendix. The Hebrew Bible is a ponderous tome with a witness, two men being required to carry it. Its 979 leaves of stout parchment form nearly a foot of thickness; it is now bound in crimson morocco, the boards of the covers measuring 23 inches by 16. "The prose books are in double columns, the poetical ones in triple, each having a sort of title and tailpiece of tracery, into which are introduced arabesques and grotesques entirely composed of small Hebrew characters." The character is of the kind which was generally used by the German Jews; but the manuscript was probably written in Italy about the year 1,300. Philip II. is said to have offered 20,000 scudi for it; and there is a tradition that some Jews once proposed to purchase it for its weight in gold. "The reason for this inordinate estimate of its value is, that it is said to be the chief authority for an important reading in the prophecies of Isaiah."

The other Bible, a copy of the Vulgate, is in two immense folio volumes, and is a still more costly specimen of calligraphy. "Each book is preceded by a picture of some remarkable fact in the history, crowded with figures, and surprisingly animated. The arabesque ornaments are also most perfect; and the whole may be considered, as regards beauty and preservation, one of the most important works of the golden days of manuscript illumination." The illustrations have been attributed to Perugino or Pinturicchio; but brilliant as they are, Mr. Dennistoun discredits this account. In the colophon of the first volume, it is stated, with some *naïveté*, that the transcript was made by the order of Duke Federigo, "the standard-bearer of the Church, and the best general of the age, not less anxious for the service and honor of the Christian religion, than for the improvement of military discipline."

Two grand apartments in the noble edifice, half palace and half castle, which the Duke erected at Urbino, were devoted to the purposes of a library, one being allotted to the manuscripts, and the other to the printed books. A magnificent eagle of gilt bronze served as a lectern in the centre of the manuscript room. The building itself, of grand dimensions, and one of the finest specimens of the architecture of the age, had a noble site on the heights of Urbino, where it commands a prospect of surpassing beauty. On its furniture and decoration was lavished all that wealth and taste could command. Its architraves, doorways, and cornices were adorned with elaborate tracery, consisting of fine arabesque designs, mingled with dancing loves, and interlaced with military trophies and heraldic fancies, among which frequently occurs the Garter of England, which order was sent to Federigo by the English Edward IV. The present state of that noble edifice is a melancholy indication of that decline into provincial obscurity and insignificance which is the fate of many a fair city in Italy, since the absorption of its smaller principalities and the loss of its independence. It is dismantled, its elaborate tracery and inlaid work are sadly defaced, and the principal hall, one hundred and twenty feet in length, is abandoned to dust and cobwebs. "In its elevated niches were formerly placed the insignia of its lords and their allies; but of these none remain save the winged lion of St.

Mark, which still looks proudly down upon the deserted audience-chamber, where its envoys used to be deferentially received by those long-departed Dukes who often bore its banner to victory."

Federigo's first marriage was unfruitful. His second wife, Battista Sforza, of that renowned house which reigned at Milan, became a mother and, during his absence, the regent of his dominions, at the early age of fourteen. By her he had successively eight daughters; but as yet, to the great grief of his people and himself, no male heir. An amiable and attached wife, a chronicler says of her that she hesitated not to offer her own life in return for the blessing of a son worthy of such a father. The patron saint of the city, Ubaldo, at last caused her prayer to be heard; and in gratitude for his intercession, the boy, who was born in January, 1472, received the name of Guido Paulo Ubaldo, which was contracted into the familiar appellation of Guidobaldo. It seems as if the mother's offer of self-sacrifice had been accepted, for she died in a few months after his birth; and the general mourning for her, who had been a faithful wife and a kind regent of the people, was the first event portending misfortune to the young heir of Urbino. Ten years after, his father also died of a fever, contracted while commanding the papal army in the unhealthy marshes round Ferrara. Thus Guidobaldo succeeded to his inheritance at so early an age that, in those turbulent times, it appeared very doubtful whether he would be able to retain it. The little state was encircled by greedy and unscrupulous foes; but his father's high military fame was still a shield to him, and the regency having luckily fallen into able and faithful hands, the perils that surrounded a long minority passed away like the mists before a splendid sunrise.

This excellent prince seems to have been born out of due time, in a country and a state of society that were not fitted to appreciate his gentle virtues, his unspotted character, and his fondness for all liberal studies and pursuits. A portrait of him in boyhood, by the father of the divine Raffaele, which is exquisitely engraved in this work, represents him as of a fair complexion, with blue eyes and very handsome features, that have a gentle and almost feminine expression. Contemporary writers say, that, in his person and limbs, he

was a model of manly beauty, before the chronic constitutional disease, which embittered his life, had wasted his figure and marred its fine proportions. This complaint is described as gout; but as its origin was attributed to exposure to fatigue and cold, some have conjectured that it was rather a form of rheumatism, probably complicated by other internal maladies.

"Almost from his cradle the Prince was remarkable for a sweet and docile temper, as well as for uncommon promise. We are gravely assured by his preceptor that, while other infants had scarcely learned to satisfy their instinctive need of sustenance, he could express his wants; while they were trying to speak, he was mastering his rudiments; and these, with similar proofs of precocity, which we shall presently cite, are asserted with the most solemn asseverations of their literal truth. Fully aware of the importance of early directing so prompt a genius, his father engaged, as the guide of his youthful studies, Ludovico Odasio of Padua, an accomplished gentleman, as well as a distinguished scholar, whom he ever treated with the attention due to his own merits, as well as to the importance of his charge. The after life of his pupil, and the language used by Odasio in his funeral eulogy, bear ample testimony to the careful and satisfactory tuition which the Prince imbibed, and the benefit he reaped from his instructions. Nor were these ungratefully received by the latter, who, on attaining majority, bestowed upon his preceptor the countship of Isola Forsara, near Gubbio, which his descendants continued to enjoy during many generations.

"The Paduan sage describes his charge as a fit model of those infantine Cupids whom painters delight to introduce in their pictures of the Queen of Love. Nor were his dispositions less engaging; gentle and just to all, generous, but prudent beyond his years. Neglecting the childish toys suitable to his age, his whole mind was concentrated on his studies and on manly sports, occasioning in many those anxious fears that so generally attend the premature development of early talent. Such was the genius committed to the care of Odasio, who seems to have rendered it ample justice. Besides his native tongue, Guidobaldo rapidly acquired the Latin language, and although Greek was then a comparatively rare accomplishment, he so thoroughly mastered its difficulties as to write it with freedom and Attic grace. Possessing great powers of application, his reading included all the best classical authors. The poets were his delight in boyhood, but by degrees he attached himself more to the severer studies

of philosophy and ethics. Nor was his attention limited to abstract literature. Geography engaged in turn his versatile talents, accompanied with practical information as to the inhabitants by whom various countries were peopled, their manners, their political relations, and the character of their respective governments. But what his preceptor considered as the great aim of a princely education was the development of his powers of eloquence, and an extensive acquaintance with history ; to these, therefore, he drew Guidobaldo's attention with entire success. In detailing to us these interesting particulars, Odasio takes little credit for the progress of his pupil, whose quick apprehension rendered his duty that of a companion and observer rather than of a teacher. His powers of memory were especially remarkable, and by judicious and habitual exercise were extended with advancing manhood. He is said to have possessed that rarest gift, of never forgetting any thing he wished to recollect, and to have repeated with perfect accuracy successive pages which he had read only once, some ten or fifteen years before." — Vol. i. pp. 282 – 284.

The inscription over his tomb, to which he was carried at the early age of thirty-six, says, with far less exaggeration than is common in an epitaph, " Vigorous in mind, though enfeebled by disease, he cultivated letters instead of arms ; he protected men of general eminence instead of mere military adventurers ; and he ameliorated the commonwealth by the arts of peace, until his court became a model for all others." His attainments would have been remarkable in a scholar of private station ; but for a prince, in that turbulent and corrupt age, gilded, as it is, with the broadest effulgence of art, they border on the marvellous. Aldus Manutius dedicated to him in Greek an edition of Thucydides, a language he understood so well that he is said to have conversed in it with ease. In early manhood, before his disease had made much progress, he entered with great delight into gymnastic games and the sports of the field, and was a proficient in military exercises. He feared neither danger nor exposure ; and being of a high and chivalrous spirit, it was generally expected of him that he would equal or surpass his father's achievements in the field. And, in fact, he continued for a time to follow the profession which had been lucrative and glorious to Federigo ; though there is reason to believe that he was employed to command the armies of the Pope, of

Venice, and of Florence, more on account of his father's reputation, and for the sake of securing the services of the hardy and disciplined soldiery who followed his banner from his own dominions, than from regard for his own military qualities. His exertions were impeded by his constitutional malady; he was often unfortunate in a campaign, being once taken prisoner and held to a heavy ransom, and he seems to have soon imbibed an aversion to warlike pursuits. But he lost neither affection nor respect by resigning the baton of command, and devoting himself to the cultivation and patronage of letters and the arts. So far as the stirring events of the times permitted, the last eight years of his short life were spent in comparative privacy, in presiding over his lettered court, diffusing over it a degree of polish and refinement elsewhere unrivalled, and studying to promote the interests of his people. The tastes of his Duchess, an amiable and virtuous woman, were very similar to his own; and their united influence gave to the society of their little capital a strange but attractive aspect in that age of civil discord and unceasing war.

In a work which has attained a European reputation, Count Baldassar Castiglione, an eminent diplomatist, who has been called the Chesterfield of Italy, has given a pleasing picture of this miniature court, of which he was himself one of the brightest ornaments. After the death of Guidobaldo, he says, "the fragrant influence continued fresh upon my mind, of the deceased Duke's virtues, and of the pleasure I had for some years enjoyed in the amiable society of the excellent persons who then frequented his court." That these pleasant memories might not quickly perish, and that a worthy pattern might be presented for imitation by other princes and their attendants, he wrote *Il Corteggiano*, or "The Courtier," intending it, to use the words of the preface, "as a portraiture of the court of Urbino, not by the hand of Raffaele or Michael Angelo, but by an inferior artist, whose capacity attains no farther than a general outline." The manners portrayed in this book are somewhat stately and pedantic, but they are relieved by high mental cultivation, and a refined taste for art. The morals were singularly pure for that licentious country and age. In conversation, it is true, the limits of propriety, according to modern notions,

were often overstepped; but the influence of the Duchess, and her inseparable friend, Emilia Pia, prevented any flagrant violation of decorum, and the character of the female portion of the court was free from stain. Emilia had been the wife of a natural brother of Guidobaldo; left a widow while still young, she fixed her residence at Urbino, where her beauty, her wit, and her spotless reputation gave a tone to the manners of the assemblage, of which she was one of the brightest ornaments.

In the evening circle over which these two ladies presided, many persons appeared either as its regular members, or as frequent guests, whose names afterwards became distinguished in the history both of arms and letters. There were Castiglione, and his cousin, Cesare Gonzaga, who was a knight of St. John, and "no unsuccessful devotee of the Muses"; Giuliano de' Medici, who became the reigning prince at Florence, after the restoration of his family there by the influence of Leo X., and the two brothers Fregoso, of a family that had given several doges to Genoa, the younger of whom became a Cardinal, his writings, his accomplishments, and his studious habits doing honor to the Sacred College. Cardinal Bembo, the accomplished classical scholar, who carried on an epistolary flirtation with the notorious Lucretia Borgia, and whose Latin prose was far purer than his morals; and Cardinal Bibbiena, the Mæcenas of the papal court under Leo X., and author of one of the best, but most licentious, Italian comedies of that age, both resided for some years at Urbino, and afterwards made it frequent visits. Other distinguished names appear in the records of the little court, and are celebrated by its polished historian and eulogist, Count Castiglione; but we cannot dwell upon them here.

And what were the amusements of this gay and lettered assemblage? Sometimes, the Duchess sang to them verses from the fourth Æneid, accompanying herself on the lute. Then, a pastoral eclogue, which two of the brightest wits of the court had been for some time composing, was enacted at the palace, choruses and dances being interwoven with it, and courtiers and churchmen being the performers. Games were introduced, not unlike those which are practised in our own day in a lively party of young people. Questions

relating to the metaphysics of love, poetry, and chivalry were propounded, and the lords and ladies strove with each other in the attempt to give the liveliest and most appropriate answers. We borrow a sketch of one of these entertainments.

"The scene is laid in the evenings immediately succeeding the visit of Julius II. The usual circle being assembled in her drawing-room, the Duchess desired Lady Emilia to set some game a-going. She proposed that every person in turn should name a new amusement, and that the one most generally approved should be adopted. This fancy was sanctioned by her mistress, who delegated to her full authority to enforce it upon all the gentlemen, but exempted the ladies from competition. The courtiers so called upon thus acquitted themselves of their task. Gaspar Pallavicino suggested that each should state the peculiar excellence and special defect which he would prefer finding in the lady of his love. Cesare Gonzaga, assuming that all had some undeveloped tendency to folly, desired that every one should state on what subject he would rather play the fool. Fra Serafino sneeringly proposed that they should successively say why most women hate rats and like snakes. The Unico Aretino, whose turn came next, thought that the party might try, one by one, to guess at the occult meaning of an ornament, in the form of an S, worn by the Duchess on her forehead. The flattery with which this odd suggestion was spiced, gave a clue to the Lady Emilia, who exclaimed that, none but himself being competent, he ought to solve the mystery; on which, after a pause of apparent abstraction, he recited a sonnet on that conceit, giving an air of impromptu to what was, in fact, a studied composition, clumsily introduced. Ottaviano Fregoso wished to know on what point each would be most willing to undergo a lover's quarrel. Bembo, refining on this idea, was of opinion that the question ought to be whether the cause of quarrel had best originate with oneself or with one's sweetheart, — whether it was most vexatious to give or receive the offence. Federigo Fregoso, premising his conviction that nowhere else in Italy were there found such excellent ingredients of a court, from the sovereign downwards, proposed that one chosen from the party should state the qualities and conditions required to form A PERFECT COURTIER, it being allowed to the others to object and redargue in the manner of a scholastic disputation.

"This idea being approved by the Duchess and her deputy, the latter called upon Count Ludovico Canossa to begin the theme. Its discussion is represented by Castiglione as having been prolonged during successive evenings; Federigo Fregoso,

Giuliano the Magnificent, Cesare Gonzaga, Ottaviano Fregoso, and Pietro Bembo, following the cue with which Canossa had opened. At the close of the fourth sitting, an argument on love was interrupted by daylight. 'Throwing open the eastern windows of the palace, they saw the summit of Monte Catri already tipped with rosy tints of the radiant Aurora, and all the stars vanished except Venus, the mild pilot of the sky, who steers along the limits of night and day. From these far-off peaks there seemed to breathe a gentle breeze, that tempered the air with bracing freshness, and, from the rustling groves of the adjacent hills, began to awaken sweet notes of wandering birds.' The same golden sun continues to dawn upon Urbino, but, ere many months had passed, the bright galaxy of satellites that circled round Duke Guidobaldo was scattered, for their guiding star had gone to another sphere." — Vol. ii. pp. 70, 72.

But the glory of Duke Guidobaldo's administration, in the eyes of posterity, was his princely and successful patronage of art. Many of the masterpieces of Raffaele, Titian, Giorgione, and Sebastian del Piombo, which now crowd the Pitti and Uffizii galleries at Florence, were brought thither from the unrivalled collection which he founded at Urbino. His successors, indeed, inherited his tastes, and made large additions to his store; but he first collected objects of art with so much taste and munificence, that his palace may be said to have preceded in renown the Uffizii and the Vatican, which were subsequently embellished with its spoils. Three imperfect catalogues of the Urbino collection still exist in manuscript; and Mr. Dennistoun has identified many of the pictures enumerated in them with those now familiar to visitors of Rome and Florence, whither we know most of them were carried. But many have disappeared, or have been dispersed among numerous private collections in Europe. Guidobaldo lived at the right time for gratifying his taste in art; he was eleven years older than Raffaele, whose lifetime, nearly as short as that of his sovereign and earliest patron, is generally considered as the golden age of the arts in Italy. Of this great master, it has been truly said, that "he was happy in his parentage and in his patrons, in his master and in his pupils, in his friends and in his rivals; and that the first misfortune of his life was its rapid and untimely close." Seven of his pictures, among which is the well-known portrait of himself, now in the Uffizii gallery at Florence, are

known to have been painted for Guidobaldo; and to him and his courtiers Raffaele was probably indebted for his introduction to Pope Julius II., and his early success at Rome. His father, Giovanni Sanzi, was a sort of painter and poet-laureate to the little court at Urbino, as he wrote a metrical chronicle of Duke Federigo's exploits, in twenty-three books, which contain about twenty-four thousand lines. This curious poem has never been printed, but exists in manuscript in the library of the Vatican; and Mr. Dennistoun has given us long extracts from it, very well translated into English blank verse. But the father's most valuable work is an exquisite portrait of his son Raffaele, at the age of six years, painted on panel, and now finely engraved for this history. The almost unearthly beauty of the prince of painters nowhere appears more strikingly than in this sketch of his countenance as a child. Some doubt has been expressed as to the genuineness of the picture, which Mr. Dennistoun was lucky enough to discover and purchase for a trifle, in 1838, in the studio of an obscure artist in an unfrequented corner of Italy; but the evidence in its favor, both internal and external, seems to be overwhelming.

As a critic in art, Mr. Dennistoun is apparently of the same school with Mr. Ruskin and Lord Lindsay. Though not precisely a "Pre-Raphaelite," he dwells with emphasis on the essentially religious character of mediæval art, and attributes the rapid decline of painting in the sixteenth century to the inroads of classicism and naturalism, and the consequent decay of mystic feeling and religious enthusiasm. The chapters relating to this subject are agreeably written, and contain much information and pleasant criticism; but they are too obviously devoted to supporting the tenets of a small coterie of amateurs, passionately attached to their peculiar theory, to obtain much credit with the more catholic taste of the world at large. We are always suspicious of a hypothesis which needs to be vindicated with so much ingenuity and eloquence, that we are prone to forget the merits of the case, in our admiration of the ability with which it is argued. Mr. Ruskin stuns us with the brilliancy of his rhetoric and the audacity of his assertions. We can believe that the great merits of the earlier Italian painters, in point of sentiment and devout expression, were attributable, in some

degree, to their fervor of religious feeling; but we do not, therefore, find ourselves obliged to admire their stiff and awkward drawing, their formal compositions and flat surfaces, or their incessant repetition of conventional types. Cimabue and Francia, Gentile and Fra Angelico, Bonfigli and Perugino, represent the brightening of the east before the coming day of art; but the sun did not fairly rise above the horizon till Michael Angelo and Raffaele appeared, to dazzle the world with revelations of power, beauty, and truth, of which their predecessors had hardly dreamed. It is the mere pedantry of æsthetics to hold that all excellence is to be found in the immature manner which these great artists first studied, but soon left far behind them. Lord Lindsay and Mr. Dennistoun would have us admire only beatified monstrosities. The latter quotes, with seeming approbation, the remark of an anonymous writer, in 1549, upon a *Pieta*, said to have been designed by "Michael Angelo Buonarotti, that inventor of filthy trash, who adheres to art without devotion," that the modern painters and sculptors "would neither paint nor model for consecrated churches any thing but figures that distract one's faith and devotion; but I hope that God will one day send his saints to cast down such idolatries." The opposite pole of this extravagance was well represented by Hogarth, whom our author sneeringly calls "the incarnation of [English] national taste in painting," and who saw in the spiritualized cherubim, that appear so frequently in the earlier specimens of Italian art, only "an infant's head, with a pair of duck's wings under its chin, supposed always to be flying about and singing psalms." Our readers will remember the fable that is told of Saint Cecilia's interview with some of these heavenly visitants, who had been attracted through an open window into her apartment, by the charm of her music. They remained there so long, fluttering about, that, fearing they would be tired, the Saint politely asked them to sit down; to which they replied, "*Merci, Mademoiselle; mais nous n'avons pas de quoi.*"

But we have lingered too long over the more fascinating portion of Mr. Dennistoun's volumes, and must return to the story of civil dissension and war. The good Duke Guidobaldo was not permitted to enjoy, without interruption, the elegant and tasteful pursuits for which he was adapted by

nature. Just before he attained his majority, the infamous Alexander VI. succeeded to the papacy, and all Italy seemed but too narrow a theatre for the development of the fearful criminality of the Pontiff and his children, the terrible Borgias. Roscoe's amiable disposition inclined him to discredit the darkest stories which have come down to us of the shocking guilt of this family; and, indeed, they seem incredible. But, after careful investigation, Mr. Dennistoun gives full credit to most of them, and entirely refutes his predecessor's elaborate defence of the character of Lucretia Borgia. The fable of a female Pope was almost realized by the attentions which her father lavished upon her, and especially by his giving her the papal government in charge during his frequent absences from Rome; "and it is singular that the only efficient defender whom she and her brother Cesare have hitherto found should be an Englishman and a protestant." Roscoe found so much that needed palliation or skepticism even in his favorites, the Medicis, that he seems at last to have brought his mind to distrust all the crimes which history had alleged against their contemporaries. That the crimes of the Borgias have been exaggerated, we cannot doubt; human nature is hardly capable of all the enormities which the fertile imagination of Italian chroniclers has imputed to them. But it could not have been any slight degree of wickedness which first provoked the censure of the historical writers of that age, whose general obtuseness of moral perception passes over the most criminal acts, as if they were pardonable, or even praiseworthy. One of the least flagitious proceedings of Alexander VI. and Cesare Borgia was their conduct towards the good Duke Guidobaldo, though it embraced every element of treachery, cruelty, and usurpation.

As Guidobaldo was childless, to prevent Urbino from lapsing to the papal see after his death, he had, with the full consent of the Pope, adopted his nephew, Francesco Maria della Rovere, to be his successor, thus preparing the way for the union of the contiguous principalities of Urbino and Sinigaglia. But Alexander had set his heart upon obtaining both, together with other dominions in Romagna, as a sovereignty for his son, Cesare Borgia; and he was not disposed even to wait till the death of the reigning Duke should afford a pretence for seizing them. Professing the utmost friend-

ship and affection for Guidobaldo, he required him to send the larger portion of his domestic troops to assist Cesare in the siege of Arezzo, and at the same time to afford a passage through his territories to a large band of Spanish mercenaries, who were advancing for the same object. Guidobaldo at first demurred a little to these large demands; but, on receiving the strongest assurances from the Pope's own hand of his friendly intentions, he complied. After giving these orders, he was thunderstruck to learn, late at night, that Cesare himself was at the head of a much larger force than had been announced, and having thus gained an entrance into the country without opposition, was within a few hours' march of the capital, avowing his intention to make the Duke a prisoner, and to seize his dominions. Resistance being impossible, Guidobaldo ordered his people, who were in as great consternation as himself, to make no opposition, and then, disguising himself as a peasant, he left his palace at midnight, with two or three tried friends, and rode hard to gain the shelter of his impregnable fortress at San Leo. But he soon found that all the passes were beset, and it was with great difficulty that he made his way to his brother-in-law at Mantua, where he appeared as an exile, stripped of every thing, his strong-holds having soon yielded either to force or treachery. His condition was a striking instance of the sudden mutations of fortune to which Italian princes, in that age, were frequently exposed.

Had the recovery of his dominions depended on any vigorous effort to be made by the Duke himself, it is most likely that they would have remained in the hands of the usurper. Guidobaldo had so schooled his mind to moderation and contentment, that a private station seemed to him almost a desirable exchange for the authority and anxieties of a ruler of Urbino. But the faithful subjects whom he had left behind were not disposed to submit to such a change of government without a struggle, though they had no expectations of aid from abroad, and though Cesare Borgia commanded a formidable military force, and had now got the fortresses of San Leo and Maiuolo into his possession. The peasants of the former place, aided by the brave mountaineers of the neighborhood, recaptured the castle by a well-planned surprise; and as fast as the news of their success spread through the

duchy, a general and spontaneous insurrection followed. Everywhere, by a sudden impulse, the people rose in arms, seized the castles and other strong-holds, drove out Borgia's officers and men, and proclaimed the Duke. Guidobaldo, who was living quietly at Venice, was surprised to receive a message, that the enemy had been driven out of his dominions, and that his people anxiously awaited his coming.

"Having experienced the risks of the Romagna passes when in the hands of a watchful foe, he took sea from Venice to Sinigaglia, which his courageous sister still held in name of her son, the young Lord Prefect. After a brief fraternal greeting, — for night had fallen when he landed, and the hours of darkness were precious, — the Duke once more undertook a harassing ride through intricate mountain paths, and reached S. Leo, on the 17th of October, just twelve days after the banner of Montefeltro, streaming from its towers, had roused the country to arms. Thanking the gallant Brizio, and cheering his little garrison, he next morning set out for his capital, through villages and townships that vied with each other in zeal to welcome his appearance by tables placed for refreshment. When he approached Urbino, whose devotedness on this and similar occasions gained for that city the distinguishing epithet of *fidele*, or leal, the entire population turned out to receive him; and it was with much delay and difficulty his horse could penetrate their crowded ranks, and carry him to the cathedral. There he found the bishop at the head of his clergy, and after attending a solemn function to return thanks to the King of kings for his restoration, he sought repose in his palace. Worn out by severe exertion, and suffering from gout, he was confined to bed during the next three days, but none were refused access of the promiscuous multitudes who flocked to satisfy themselves as to his actual return. Of the affection entertained towards him, a touching instance occurs in the naïve diary to which we have recently referred: — 'I was plundered at Montecalvo by the soldiery of stuff to the value of twenty-five ducats, which prevented me from sowing this year; but my losses seemed as nothing when I saw my prince, and especially when I touched his hand; such were the caresses bestowed upon me by my Lord, whom God preserve!'" — Vol. i. p. 400.

But the arts of the Pope and his son, and the influence of the king of France, having dissipated a confederacy of petty princes that had been formed against the Borgias, who had dispossessed and exiled half of the independent feudatories of

the Church, it soon became apparent that Guidobaldo could not, single-handed, resist the formidable forces which were directed against his little territory. When it became known that there were no longer any allies to aid him, the Duke frankly laid his case before the chief inhabitants of his dominions, and offered to retire, or to live and die with them, as they might decide. They gallantly determined to resist to the death; and so great was the popular enthusiasm, that the women came and offered their jewels and other ornaments to support the common cause. Just at this critical moment, a severe attack of the Duke's inveterate malady showed how incapable he was of heading a desperate contest; and his people at last reluctantly consented that he should make terms with the stronger party.

"On the 4th of December, an arrangement was published, by which S. Leo and three other fortresses were to remain in the hands of Guidobaldo, with permission to transport thither whatever property he chose, the remainder of the duchy passing again to Borgia. During the next two days much of the Duke's valuables were removed, and on the 7th the palace was thrown open to general plunder; indeed, all law and order being suspended, there was a scramble by the citizens for the safety of their families and effects. Paolo Orsini, to calm the excitement, offered to guarantee the full amnesty stipulated in the surrender; but, enraged at a reverse which they attributed mainly to his perfidy and cowardice, they spurned his assurances, and, being unable to tear him to pieces, wreaked their indignation by hooting him as 'the Lady Paul.' To the Duke there remained no alternative but once more to withdraw; yet, before setting out, he advised his people to dismantle the other castles, as these could only serve to strengthen the usurper's hold upon his country, in the event of any new effort for his restoration, — a suggestion which they carried enthusiastically into effect ere Cesare could take means to prevent them. But to have punished their precipitancy would have been all the more impolitic, when there were no longer fortresses from which to overawe their obedience; so he had no alternative but conciliation, and on taking possession of the duchy, he proclaimed a general amnesty, as provided in the capitulation.

"The fatigues which Guidobaldo had undergone in reaching his capital had brought on a severe attack of his constitutional enemy, which disqualified him from active exertion during most of the anxious period of his stay there, and, indeed, generally confined him to his couch. A new exertion was, however, requisite, and

he met it with his wonted firmness. On the 7th of December, he made a parting address to his people, and explained to them that, after applying in vain for aid to all the powers of Italy, and unable singly to resist the Pope and his son, the interests of his state left him no choice but to retire. He recommended them resignation to an inevitable destiny, and advised them to remain quietly under their new sovereign, until it should please God to send them better times. Next morning, at eight o'clock, he once more bid adieu to his dominions amid the lamentations of thousands, and retired to Citta di Castello."— Vol. i. pp. 403, 404.

Within a few months, the way was prepared for Guidobaldo's return to his dominions by the fearful retribution which overtook the Borgias. Had Alexander lived a year or two longer, it is probable that the power of his son, who had great military talents and was a successful though unscrupulous diplomatist, would have been so firmly established in Romagna, that he might have transmitted his ducal coronet, or even a crown, with hereditary dominions of corresponding magnitude and importance, to his posterity. But the vengeance of heaven was too swift for the arts of this blood-stained family; and when the founder of their greatness fell by a stroke which seemed to be the direct intervention of Providence, the whole fabric of their power toppled at once into ruin; and nothing but the stern record of history remained to show where it had stood. The chroniclers report that it had been the regular habit of the Pope, when his treasury was exhausted, to poison a Cardinal, in order to make a vacancy in the Sacred College, and put up the place for sale, large sums being freely given to obtain this perilous honor. We may well doubt whether this practice could have been so frequent as to merit the name of a habit; the alarm once given, Cardinals would not allow themselves to be put out of the way so easily. But Mr. Dennistoun quotes from the manuscript diary of a contemporary, who had ample means of information, and who actually saw the swollen and disfigured corpse of the Pontiff, full confirmation of the story, generally repeated by the historians, that, in attempting to poison Cardinal Adrian of Corneto, Alexander actually poisoned himself and his son Cesare. The latter, favored by his youth and a strong constitution, escaped with a severe fit of illness; but the Pope, after lingering about a week, died in agony. It was remarked, that, during his sickness,

he never mentioned the names of Cesare and Lucretia, the two children whom he had loved too well, and in whose behalf he had perpetrated most of his fearful crimes. As soon as his death became known, all Rome rose in arms against the Cardinals who had belonged to his faction, and expelled them from the city. The Vatican and the castle of St. Angelo were held by Borgia, who had a large body of troops at his command; but enfeebled by his illness, and "seeming as if burnt from the middle downwards," he made no attempt to prevent the Cardinals from assembling at the Minerva convent, where they were guarded by the barons and the bravest of the citizens, and where they chose the aged Piccolomini to be the new Pope, under the title of Paul III. He survived his exaltation just twenty-six days. Cesare Borgia fled in a litter to the French camp outside the walls, and afterwards took refuge in the fortress of Nepi. Romagna and the other districts recently conquered by him profited by the opportunity to throw off his yoke, and within a few months, he became a landless exile and a prisoner in Spain.

"On the 22d of August, authentic intelligence of the death of Alexander and the illness of his son having reached Urbino, through some emissaries of Guidobaldo who announced that the moment for action had arrived, the people ran to arms. The governor fled to Cesena; his lieutenant was slain in the tumult; the siege of S. Leo was raised; and in one day the entire duchy, except one unimportant castle, returned to its lawful sovereign.

"On hearing that the Pope and Cesare were both ill, the Duke of Urbino hastily quitted Venice, his honorable and secure retreat, leaving behind, in the words of Bembo, 'a high reputation for superhuman genius, for admirable acquirements, for singular discretion.' As a parting favor, that republic advanced him 3000 or 4000 ducats, towards the expenses of his restoration. He wrote desiring his nephew Fregoso to send over a detachment from S. Leo, to maintain order in his capital, and himself following upon the steps of his messenger, reached that fortress on the 27th of August. Next day he proceeded to Urbino, where, Castiglione tells us, 'he was met by swarms of children bearing olive-boughs, and hailing his auspicious arrival; by aged sires tottering under their years, and weeping for joy; by men and women; by mothers with their babes; by crowds of every age and sex; nay, the very stones seemed to exult and leap.' Females of all ranks flocked in from the adjacent townships, with tambourines played before them, to see their sove-

reign, and touch his hand; whilst popular fury spent itself upon the usurper's armorial ensigns, which had been painted in fresco over the city gates a few months before by Timoteo Vite, at the rate of from one to four ducats each.

"The example of Urbino was quickly followed by Sinigaglia, Pesaro, and the other principalities; and by the middle of October, a confederacy for their common maintenance and defence, under oaths and a mutual bond of 10,000 ducats, was organized by these three states, along with Camerino, Perugia, Piombino, Citta di Castello, and Rimini, in all which the exiled seigneurs had resumed their ascendency."—Vol. ii. pp. 20, 21.

The fortune of Guidobaldo was soon secured by the election of his relative and strongly attached friend, the Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, to be Pope, under the title of Julius II. The adopted heir of the duchy of Urbino was the nephew of the new Pontiff, who exerted all the power of the papacy for his advancement. As he was still young, and the feeble health of the reigning Duke showed that the succession would soon be open to him, he was content to wait, and see his future dominions prospering under the mild sway of their present sovereign. Five years remained to Guidobaldo of quiet enjoyment of his refined tastes and the elegant amusements of his court, interrupted only by fresh attacks of the disease which had so early marked him for its victim. The affection and prosperity of his people afforded him daily happiness, and new honors from abroad were heaped upon him. He received the order of the Garter from England, Count Castiglione undertaking a mission to London, to be the proxy at his installation. He was named Gonfaloniere of the Church, and a brief campaign, undertaken by him to reduce a few castles in the Romagna that were still held by the troops whom Borgia had stationed in them, had a favorable issue. The Pope visited Urbino with a magnificent suite, and was sumptuously entertained there, while he treated the Duke as his bosom friend and councillor.

In 1508, when Guidobaldo had attained only the thirty-sixth year of his age, it became manifest that his end was drawing nigh. Even during his intervals of ease, which seldom continued as long as a month, he had to be carried about in a chair; and while the complaint was upon him, he was confined to his bed in great agony. Yet his mind remained active and clear; and he wiled away the tedious hours of

pain by conversing with the distinguished men who surrounded his couch, and by repeating long passages from his favorite authors. The winter proved unusually severe, and greatly aggravated his sufferings; and in the spring, he was removed to Fossombrone, which was reputed to have the mildest climate of any place in his dominions. Here he rallied for a time, but checked his courtiers, when they expressed a hope of his recovery, by applying to himself the lines of Virgil: —

> Me circum limus niger et deformis arundo
> Cocyti, tardaque palus, inamabilis unda,
> Alligat, et novies Styx interfusa coërcet.

He died on the 11th of April, 1508, leaving a reputation which would have been highly honorable to a sovereign in any country or age, but which was a marvel in Italy in the times of the Medicis and the Borgias.

The character and history of the three remaining Dukes of Urbino, forming the Della Rovere branch of the dynasty, are by no means so interesting as those of the Montefeltrian line. The first and most distinguished of them, Francesco Maria, played a conspicuous part in the politics of Italy for thirty years, which formed a critical period in the fortunes of the peninsula. Pushed by the active patronage of his uncle, Julius II., into high military office while he was yet young, he continued to be chosen general on many subsequent occasions, his contemporaries seeming to believe that his lengthened experience would gradually correct his blunders, or that, on the principle of compensation, fortune would at last favor a leader who had so long been unsuccessful. He was often defeated and baffled in the field, and he was accused, seemingly with good reason, of criminal inactivity and cowardice. Still, as arms were his profession, to which he was passionately devoted, and as he commanded large bodies of troops in the service of the Pope, of Venice, and of Florence, at a time when Italy became the theatre of war for the great powers of Europe, so that he had Francis I. and Charles V. either as allies or opponents, he certainly acquired skill in military tactics and engineering, and his opinions were heard with deference by the greatest generals of his age. Mr. Dennistoun labors hard to account for his ill success, to palliate his errors, and to exalt his merits; but, in all these respects, he seems to yield to the easily besetting sin of a biographer, who cannot

tolerate defects in a character that he has carefully studied and elaborately delineated.

The great fault of Francesco Maria was his fierce and irascible temper. He struck Guicciardini a violent blow in the face, when that eminent historian was seated at the council-table with him, and had given no other offence than by expressing a difference of opinion as to the proper mode of conducting the war. The chronicler who tells the story, adds, "such pugilistic sport was common to my lord Duke; and it was well for those who could command their temper in reasoning with him, as he was ever ready to strike any one who argued against his views with disrespect." The Duke gave a far more lamentable exhibition of his fierce passions, when he poniarded the Cardinal of Pavia with his own hand, in the open street and in the face of day, because the latter thought to justify himself by throwing upon Francesco Maria the blame for the loss of Bologna. Even the doting nepotism of Julius II. found it hard to pardon this murder; and Leo X. subsequently made it a pretext for excommunicating the Duke and depriving him of his dominions. After a protracted and inglorious struggle, which was ruinous to both parties, he succeeded in regaining them after the death of that Pontiff. He afterwards commanded the only Italian army which might have arrested the Constable Bourbon's army in its fatal march into central Italy; and to his want of energy and conduct, and his unaccountable delays, the capture and terrible sack of Rome were chiefly attributed.

A great change in the mode of waging war, and in the objects for which it was conducted, which began in Guidobaldo's time, was completed under Francesco Maria. The condottiere system, long since reprobated by Machiavelli as costly and inefficient even for the petty wars waged by the Italian powers against each other, was necessarily abandoned after the intervention of France, Germany, and Spain in the affairs of the peninsula, and the consequent appearance of large, but ill-disciplined, armies in the field. Great objects now being at stake, and powerful combatants having entered into the strife, the war was waged in good earnest, and pitched battles ceased to be bloodless tournaments. At the field of Ravenna, where the chivalrous Gaston de Foix was slain, the slaughter was as great as in one of Napoleon's terrible vic-

tories; forty thousand were killed, the loss of the two parties being nearly equal. The Swiss first proved the superiority of infantry over cavalry; the levelled pikes of their solid battalions broke and scattered the heavy armed chivalry of France in their most desperate charges. Other countries profited by the lesson thus taught. The Germans organized a foot militia, called *lanznechts*, who became as formidable from their recklessness of danger, as from their fractious and debauched conduct, and their merciless treatment both of friends and foes in the countries which they ravaged. The Great Captain, Gonsalvo of Cordova, tamed the license of the Spanish infantry with whom he overran the Neapolitan kingdom; but under other commanders, they fought and plundered like pirates. There was, indeed, this excuse for the misconduct of all these troops; the expense of such wars, waged at a great distance from home, far exceeding the means of the sovereigns who conducted them, the pay of the troops was always in arrears, and the provision of food and other necessaries was wholly insufficient. They were compelled to live by rapine, and to gain a battle or sack a city was often the only means of keeping them from starvation and mutiny. Commanders frequently stood in as much awe of their own troops, as of those of their opponents. The condition of the renegade Bourbon's army, when he advanced to the siege of Rome, affords a striking picture of the military discipline of this period.

Great improvements were made in fire-arms, but the arts of fortification and military engineering were still in their infancy. It is a little curious that the first measure for rendering the artillery more efficient was to reduce the size of the pieces, which had been of unwieldy magnitude. The heavy cannon carried balls of several hundred pounds' weight; "and after each discharge, some hours were needed to clean out, reload, and point the piece. Even the flying artillery were in length sixty diameters, and the basilisks, reckoned as light guns, were two hundred pounders." The light and rapidly served field-pieces of the French army, with which Charles VIII. invaded Italy, first proved that the effectiveness of artillery might be in inverse ratio to its size; and the former cumbrous machines soon went out of use. In our own day, they seem to be coming again into service, though

with the improvements suggested by modern science. The armament of war steamers, at least, is made up of a few cannon of great size, intended to throw hollow shot to immense distances; but the lamentable accident which happened on board the Princeton seems to prove, that these monsters may be as fatal to those who serve them as to the persons against whom they are directed.

We would gladly follow Mr. Dennistoun's clear and animated account of the invasion of Italy by foreign powers, and the gradual extinction of her independence. But the remarks, suggested only by a few topics among the rich contents of his volumes, have already exceeded our limits, and we must hasten to a close. Francesco Maria was succeeded by his son, Guidobaldo II., whose long reign was marked by few public events of great importance. He lived in quiet times, and was not ambitious of military fame, though he occasionally took service with the Emperor and the republic of Venice, in order to strengthen his political position and enlarge his revenues. But his gains from this source being very limited in comparison with those of his predecessors, while he equalled them in a taste for magnificence, he was compelled to burden his subjects with heavy taxes, and thus to forfeit the popularity, which seemed to have been an heirloom in his family. Imperious and irascible like his father, he sternly refused to make any terms with those who had insulted his authority, and repressed every token of insubordination with merciless severity.

The change that took place, about the middle of the sixteenth century, in the condition and policy of the papacy, is thus well described by our author. It was an indirect consequence of the Reformation, which, perhaps, accomplished nearly as much good within the bosom of the Church, as outside of it, by stripping it of its absolute dominion and uncontested claims, and rescuing nearly half of Christendom from its sway.

"The abject position in which Italy was left after the wars of Clement VII. has already been noticed. Her internal conflicts were at an end. Of those states whose struggles for independence or for mastery had during long ages, convulsed her, the lesser had been absorbed by the more powerful, and these in their turn had bowed to foreign dominion or foreign influence.

She was tranquillized but trodden down, pacified but prostrate. Her history became but a series of episodes in the annals of ultramontane nations, on whom her few remaining princes and commonwealths grew into dependent satellites. Even the popes, no longer arbiters of European policy, sought a reflected consequence by attaching themselves to the interests of France, Spain, or the empire. Nor were they losers by the change to the same degree as other Peninsular powers. The papacy was indeed shorn in part of its temporal lustre. It no longer directed the diplomacy of Christendom, nor did it waste its resources upon bloody and bootless campaigns. But as its energies were gradually weaned from general politics, they became more concentrated upon ecclesiastical affairs. The small speck on the horizon, towards which Leo X. had scarcely directed a look or an anxiety, was now rapidly overspreading the sky, and already excluded the rays of Catholicism from a large portion of Central Europe. His successors, threatened with the loss of spiritual as well as temporal ascendency, had the wisdom to make a stand for maintenance of the former, leaving the latter to its fate. The spirit of Popery from aggressive became conservative; its military tactics gave place to theological weapons. It was by Paul III. that a vigorous opposition was first made to the Reformation, and the primary steps taken towards that Catholic reaction, which Paul IV. and Pius V. afterwards so successfully promoted, as not only to check the rapid progress of Protestantism, but to regain a portion of the lost ground. Seconding the zeal of the old monastic orders, which had been revived in the Theatins, he, in 1540, recruited to it the cold clear-sighted cunning of the Jesuits. Two years afterwards, he reëstablished the Inquisition, and in 1545, opened the Council of Trent, whose sittings were not finally closed until eighteen years later, when it had completed that bulwark which still constitutes a strong-hold of the Romish church. Extirpation of heresy henceforward became the pervading principle of the papacy, and the engrossing dogma of its zealots; the object for which councils deliberated, pontiffs admonished, legates intrigued. For an end so sanctified no means were accounted base. When argument failed, threats were at hand. From reason an appeal lay to the rack. Thus was the wavering power of the Keys restored or confirmed over much of Europe, and an alliance was effected between political and spiritual despotism for their mutual maintenance and common defence. The success which crowned these new efforts far exceeded any that mere mundane aims had ever attained. The re-influx of Catholicism was in some instances more signal, as it was more inexplicable, than had been the recent spread of the Reformation. Although fatal to freedom of thought, its influ-

ence proved highly favorable to morals. The revival of religion was attended with a happy reformation of manners, after examples emanating from high places. The sins, or at least the scenes, that had disgraced the Borgian and Medicean courts no longer met the eye, but were replaced by a semblance of ascetic virtue. The new religious orders, being of more rigid rule, tended by precept and example to restore discipline, and to purify, at least externally, the cup and the platter. Prelatic luxury was curtailed, brazen vice retired from public view, and the free exercise of papal nepotism was finally restrained by Pius V., who, in 1567, prohibited the alienation by his successors of church property or jurisdictions."— Vol. iii. pp. 90, 91.

The history of letters and art under the last three Dukes of Urbino is ably sketched by Mr. Dennistoun; but as their capital had ceased to be preëminent among the cities of Italy for refinement and the patronage of liberal pursuits, the details which are introduced have but little connection with the main subject of the history, and the theme itself has lost much of its former splendor and importance. Both Ariosto and Tasso visited Urbino, and the latter resided there for some years; which circumstance affords sufficient excuse for dwelling at some length upon their personal history and the criticism of their poems. But the two bards certainly did not incur any painful obligation to the reigning Dukes. With respect to Tasso, our author adopts the theory which seems to be rapidly gaining credit among the students of his life, that the chief source of his misfortunes was the melancholic monomania which he inherited, and that Alfonso of Este is not chargeable with injustice or cruelty in the treatment of him. Mr. Dennistoun gives the following summary of the argument of Dr. Andrea Verga, one of the latest Italian writers who have attempted to solve the interesting problem.

"The proposition which he undertakes to establish is, that 'Tasso affords one of the most distinct cases of that description of insanity, which was commonly called true melancholy, and is now known as *lipemania;* and that this is the only way in which we can explain the many enigmas of his life, and, by reconciling the discrepancies of his biographers, put an end to numberless gossiping conjectures regarding his misfortunes.' In illustration of this view, we are told that his mother died young in violent delirium; that the long and harassed life of his father developed a strong tendency to melancholy; and that the

physical and moral constitution of the poet himself was of a highly bilioso-nervous character, predisposed to affections of the spirits. From infancy he manifested decided symptoms of 'a genius to madness near allied.' Indifferent to toys, he seemed exempt from the emotions and the tastes of childhood. Precocious in all mental powers, he spoke intelligibly at six months, knew Greek and wrote verses at seven years, and at eighteen published the Rinaldo, a sustained and applauded epic. The reverses of his early days, on which we have already dwelt in our notice of his father, the premature loss of his mother, the injudicious liberty of thought and action allowed him by Bernardo, and the rough criticisms to which his writings were subjected ere his character and knowledge of mankind were developed — all these tinged deeper the gloom of his constitutional sadness, and formed a training the most fatal to one of innately morbid sensibilities. The results were obvious. Bald before his time, his digestion enervated, subject to faintings and fevers intermittent or delirious, his health at thirty was ruined, his nerves and brain shattered. The natural consequence of his precocity was an overweening pride in his accomplishments, which rendered him jealous, touchy, and quarrelsome; and though destined from youth to wander in search of given bread, nature had neither granted him the humble resignation required for such a lot, nor imbued him with a daring spirit to rise above it. Men who live in courts must be prepared to encounter intrigues; those who publish poetry should lay their account with unsparing strictures; and the smaller the court, or the more prominent their poetic merits, so much the greater need have they of forbearance and philosophy. But Tasso possessed neither; and the jealousies of Pigna and Guarini, the malice of the della Cruscan critics, stung him to the quick. A slight or fancied affront, which he met with from one of the courtiers of Ferrara, though avenged by a duel, brought his symptoms to a head. From that moment, when in his thirty-third year, we find him a victim to the restlessness, suspicions, fears, sad forebodings, and hopeless misery, which afflict lipemaniacs.

"Under such sinister influences the crisis speedily arrived. Whilst seated in the Duchess of Urbino's apartment, in her mother's palace, he rushed with his dagger on an attendant who chanced to enter. This, whether a premeditated assault, or, as Verga is inclined to suspect, an idle hallucination, seems to have been the ground on which he was, by order of Alfonso, placed under restraint; but when the paroxysm was past, he was reconducted to the Duke's presence with ample assurances of pardon. The iron had, however, entered into his soul, and the

idea that he was in disgrace, owing to the malicious backbiting of foes real or imaginary, could not be driven from his mind. He retired from their supposed persecutions to a Franciscan convent, but, finding in its quiet no peace for his troubled spirit, he fled in disguise from these illusions, and, led perhaps by the bright memory of his early days, arrived on the sunny shores of Sorrento, where he sought a refuge with his married sister. But alas! the charms of that radiant land shed no glad influence on his soul.

> 'Pale menaces and black despair
> O'ertake his armed galley's speed,
> And when he mounts the flying steed
> Sits gloomy care behind.'

Ere a few months passed, he returned to Ferrara, in hopes of proving to the Duke that the crimes and the frenzy, of which he believed himself accused, were equally calumnies. In the festive and kindly reception with which he was greeted, the wayward poet found new grounds for jealousy, imagining a plot to be formed against his literary fame, by plunging him in a round of dissipation, whilst 'others' (meaning his patron) should reap the glory and profits due to his creative genius. That conduct so provoking should have brought upon him real slights, in addition to his imagined wrongs, can scarcely be doubted; and, wounded at heart, he again had recourse to flight, wandering aimlessly by Mantua, Padua, and Venice, to Pesaro, the refuge of his happier youth." — Vol. iii. pp. 294–296.

The last Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria II., might have been the original from whom Shakspeare drew the character of the philosophic Duke Vincentio, in the comedy of Measure for Measure. He was a scholar, a philosopher, and a dreamer, — competent to direct the actions of others by sage and sententious precepts, but wholly unfit to act for himself in this bustling world. The affairs of government were a perplexity, and its state was a burden to him. He was benevolent in disposition, sincerely wished the welfare of his subjects, and even sought to gratify what he deemed their unreasonable desires, — treating them like spoilt children, whose caprices it was easier to gratify than to oppose. But he was never really happy except when he could shuffle off the toils of state upon somebody else, and retreat to a distant palace, where he had drawn together a band of learned monks, with whom he held high converse on topics of theology and metaphysics, and studied Aristotle and the Bible. From this

retreat, he would send forth whole sheets of wise general precepts for the conduct of the administration, and write letters to numerous correspondents on abstract topics. There is no reason to believe that there was any affectation in all this; in that age, the sovereign was not tempted to ape the philosopher by any hope of popular applause, or even of the approbation of the learned. Domestic misfortunes, toward the close of his life, gave him a turn to misanthropy; but there was too much love in his disposition to allow this to run to bitterness. It only inspired a profound distaste for the gauds and shows of this vain world, and prompted him to seek in entire seclusion for the peace of mind which had suffered shipwreck in the tempests of life. His character would have appeared truly estimable and attractive anywhere else than upon a throne. Yet if he had been born in a private station, his moderation and his wisdom, his insight into character and his impartial justice, would probably have tempted many to regret that he was not born to empire;— *consensu omnium, capax imperii, nisi imperâsset.* What Hallam remarks of the character of the Duke in Measure for Measure is exactly applicable to him; 'stern and melancholy by temperament, averse to the exterior shows of power, and secretly conscious of some unfitness for its practical duties.' This play is commonly supposed to have been written in 1603, twenty-nine years after Francesco Maria II. had succeeded to his dukedom, and twenty-eight years before he died. Is it possible that Shakspeare had heard from travellers or diplomatists some account of the singular character of his contemporary? Or is this but one other instance of the mighty master's universal knowledge of human nature?

In his youth, Francesco Maria had enjoyed large opportunities for seeing the world, had been actively engaged in civil and military affairs, and manifested none of that morbid desire for seclusion and study which came upon him after he succeeded to the dukedom. He left an interesting and modestly-written autobiography, which still exists in manuscript; and the large extracts from it in these volumes enable us to trace the history of the formation of his character with much certainty. At the age of sixteen, at his own earnest request, his father sent him to Spain, to the court of Philip II., who received and treated him like a son. He spent two

years and a half at Madrid, occupying himself "in all those noble exercises which there, more than anywhere else, were attended to, practising military games on foot and horseback in public." He lived on terms of much intimacy with the Infant Don Carlos, and enjoyed a close friendship with Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip II., and afterwards the renowned commander at the great sea-fight of Lepanto. "He also paid court to the ladies, and learned the sports of the jennet as practised there, from Don Pedro Enciquel."

The following passage from his autobiography throws some light on the mysterious fate of Don Carlos, which has so long been a problem in history.

"Some movements having occurred in Flanders, the King gave orders to proceed there, and the court, including Francesco Maria, made preparations to attend him. But the latter, wishing to see France, asked permission to take that route by land, and so to rejoin his Majesty, who was to go by sea. The King, desiring his attendance on his person, refused this request, and so the opportunity was lost, to his great mortification, and perhaps to the no small loss of his Majesty. Subsequently occurred the imprisonment of Don Carlos, which was thus effected by order of his own father. An hour after midnight, the King, in his dressing-gown, holding a candle in his hand, having gone down to the Prince's room, with his council of state and but one gentleman of his chamber, found him in bed. The Prince, on seeing them, tried to reach the corner, where were his sword and a pair of arquebuses, which he kept there always ready; but this was prevented by the Duke of Feria, who had already secured these arms. Then, rushing to his father, he exclaimed, 'So you are come to kill me?' To this his Majesty replied, 'Not so, but because you must live as becomes you, so be calm;' and never addressed him again. The Prince then said, 'I see that I am taken for a madman, which I am not, though a desperate one.' The King, having seen the doors and windows nailed up, leaving only a shutter open for light, and having desired the arms and all such things to be taken away, returned to his apartment, leaving with Don Carlos his major-domo Ruggo Mez de Silva (?) with several chamberlains and other officers of his household, a guard of Germans being stationed outside of his door; and the court was greatly vexed thereat." — Vol. iii. p. 125.

Francesco Maria returned home in July, 1568, and resumed his studies of mathematics and philosophy, though he still kept up active exercise in arms and the chase. His

father arranged a match for him with Lucrezia d'Este, sister of the Duke of Ferrara, and the object, according to some accounts, of Tasso's misplaced attachment. This marriage took place, though, as the bridegroom remarked in his autobiography, it was "little to his taste; for she was old enough to have been his mother." Rumor said that he had conceived a passion for a lady at the Spanish court, Donna Madalena Girona, which was the reason why his father suddenly called him home, and concluded this marriage for him. But the story lacks confirmation, and was probably invented afterwards, to account for the unhappiness that arose from the ill-arranged match. The parties lived together only two years, on terms of cold civility, when they separated, and Lucrezia returned to Ferrara, where she remained till her death, twenty-five years afterwards. In a diary that he kept, the Duke gives this account of the separation:—"Meanwhile the Duchess wished to return to Ferrara, where she subsequently chose to remain, a resolution which gave no annoyance to her husband; for as she was unlikely to bring him a family, her absence mattered little. Her provision was amicably arranged, and their intercourse continued uniformly on the most courteous terms." This was written in 1573; in 1598, he drily wrote in his journal as follows.

"'February 14th, I sent the Abbé Brunetti to Ferrara, to visit the Duchess, my wife, who was sick.

"'—— 15th, Heard that Madame Lucrezia d'Este, Duchess of Urbino, my wife, died at Ferrara during the night of the 11th.

"'—— 19th, The Abbé Brunetti returned from Ferrara.'"

"In his Memoirs she is the subject of still more brief remark.

"'Her death occurred after some years, leaving him [the Duke] executor by her will of many pious bequests.'"—Vol. iii. p. 156.

A few months after his marriage, by permission of his father, Francesco Maria joined the great armament that had been prepared by the coalized Christian powers of Europe against the Turk, and placed under the command of Don John of Austria. He embarked at Genoa, with a large party of his father's subjects, in a Savoyard galley, and was in the thick of the fight at Lepanto, being engaged at one time by the Turkish admiral, and afterwards by two galleys, one ahead and the other astern, and most of his ship's com-

pany being either killed or wounded. For his conduct in this memorable engagement, which effectually broke the Ottoman power, he received the warm thanks of the commander, and had twenty-four Turkish slaves presented to him as his part of the spoils of victory. He then returned to Urbino, and exerted all his influence to quell the unhappy insurrection there that has been mentioned, and to mitigate his father's severity against the insurgents.

On his accession to the duchy, in 1574, he received a long letter of excellent advice from his old preceptor, Girolamo Muzio, to which, during the earlier part of his reign, he zealously endeavored to conform.

"Let us now see, from his own narrative, what effect these blunt but precious counsels, and the prudent advices of his uncle Ottavio, Duke of Parma, had upon his early measures. 'His first act, on assuming the government, was to raze those fortifications at Urbino which had been made during the insurrection, and to reduce the impost laid on by his father in his necessity; and this although the late Duke's liberality had imposed upon him many burdensome expenses to which his revenues were scarcely equal, besides heavy debts at interest. He was thus obliged to restrict himself to the unavoidable state expenses.'

"'Further, he was disappointed of those aids he looked for from the kindness of his Catholic Majesty, in whose service his father had died, at whose court he had himself been brought up, for whom he had fought in the battle of Lepanto, and to whose service he had ever professed his intention steadily to adhere. But during eight long years, his hopes dragged on without any result from that quarter, and thus was he compelled to attend closely to his private affairs, and prevented from carrying into execution an intention he had always entertained of following the career of arms, which he was on the point of commencing in Flanders, where he was already looked for when he lost his father. He however succeeded in contenting his subjects, and in effacing from their minds whatever bitterness remained in consequence of the recent measures; and this chiefly from their being aware that these events had been displeasing to him, and that he had studied to assist their cause in so far as his parental duty permitted.'

"The moderate and self-denying measures to which the Duke thus modestly alludes are the subject of more detailed commendation by Zane, who was commissioned by the Venetians to congratulate him upon his succession. At the moment of receiving the oaths of fidelity, he abolished those imposts which

had occasioned the recent discontents. They were five in number, all upon excisable commodities, yielding about 16,000 scudi to the revenue. This course he followed up by various grants and immunities to the respective cities, but especially to Urbino. Even before his father's death, he had obtained a commutation there of the duties on casking wine and cheese, and of the quatrino per lb. upon butcher-meat, for an equivalent of 20,000 scudi payable in ten years; but he now remitted entirely this contribution. He restored to their property and privileges most of the outlaws and their families; he recalled the proclamations disarming the district; and, by destroying the fortifications erected after the rebellion, he at once relieved the people of a garrison, and demonstrated his renewed confidence in their fidelity. But what had still happier effect, was his repeatedly visiting that capital with but one or two attendants, in full and well-placed reliance upon the affection of his subjects, of whom he ever spoke in public and private with the most affectionate regard. Himself deeply imbued with sentiments of religion, it was his aim to encourage the same among his people. Nor was he indifferent to personal accomplishments, or to the reputation which his predecessors had established, and which Castiglione has immortalized. 'There are ever at his court some persons distinguished in arms or in letters, and it is the taste for all to cultivate a refined urbanity of manner, and to be in every respect perfect courtiers, a fashion of old observance there, yet more than ever in repute since the Prince visited Spain.'" — Vol. iii. pp. 140–142.

But it is probable that his sphere of action in the little state soon began to appear narrow and petty in his eyes, after he had resided a long time in one of the most splendid capitals of the Continent, had enjoyed the friendship of its greatest princes, and had taken an active share in transactions on which the fate of Europe depended. He was too conscientious to desert his people, or to peril their welfare and his own soul by attempts directed against his neighbors for his own aggrandizement. But the petty cares of a miniature government became an annoyance to him, and he had no taste for illicit pleasures. The field of honorable ambition seeming to be closed, and his home, through his ill-starred marriage, being a cheerless one, he sought amusement and consolation in books and philosophy. The proud and reserved demeanor, which he had acquired during his residence in Spain, increased his tendency to seclusion. At first, a victim of ennui, he finally became a dreamer and a book-worm.

The appetite grew by what it fed on; and as years passed by, action became more and more distasteful to him. On the death of his wife, when he was nearly fifty years old, his subjects, passionately attached to the family of their native princes, and fearful that it would die out by the want of heirs, so that Urbino would lapse to the papal see, clamorously petitioned him to marry again. Whenever he appeared in public, the populace came about him in a great crowd, eagerly crying out, *Serenissimo, moglie!* "A wife, Your Highness!" When their anxiety was at the height, the Pope paid a visit to Urbino, where he had a magnificent reception and long private interviews with the Duke. The people feared that the object of this visit was to make arrangements for uniting the duchy with the papal states even during the Duke's lifetime, through a voluntary abdication on his part of the sovereignty. "These ideas became a theme of discussion among the multitudes who crowded from all quarters of the state to witness the courtly shows at Pesaro; and when the Duke returned to the city from escorting the Pope towards Ferrara, he was met at the gates by a host of his subjects, whose loyalty and patriotism burst forth afresh in tumultuous shouts of *Serenissimo, moglie!*"

Astonished at their pertinacity, but wishing to gratify them, if it should appear that these cries of the mob truly represented the wishes of the whole people, the royal philosopher addressed a circular to the magistrates of every city in his dominions, in which he argued against the proposal, on the ground that their welfare would be promoted by passing under the sway of a more powerful sovereign, like his Holiness, that his own delicate health and advanced age made it unsuitable for him to marry again, and that, even if a marriage took place, they might be disappointed in the hope of an heir, or be left for a time under a minority, which is "ever a judgment of God upon a nation." Still, wishing to conform to their wishes, he asked them to convoke a private council, excluding all officers immediately dependent on himself, and after reading this letter to those who were present, to decide by ballot which course would be best for the commonwealth. The decision thus made he promised to carry into effect. The consequence of this singular appeal was a unanimous and urgent resolution in favor of his immediate mar-

riage; and the Duke therefore took from a convent an unportioned relative, only fifteen years old, and married her. The corresponding entry in his diary is concise enough: — "26th April, 1599. I married the Lady Livia della Rovere." The remarks in his autobiography are a little more explicit.

"Moved by the unremitting entreaties of my subjects, I have been forced to establish myself by a new alliance; yet as my age and other considerations would have prevented me from taking this resolution but for their satisfaction, I have chosen to combine with their wishes a due consideration for my own, by selecting one of my proper blood, and brought up in this country, in whom are combined many of the qualities suited to my views." Vol. iii. p. 161.

The first step, then, for complying with the wishes of the people, was taken; but only Providence could determine whether their highly wrought hopes should be fully gratified. As months and years passed by without any promise of an heir, the anxiety of the community rose to the highest pitch. Public prayers were offered up, pilgrimages were undertaken, and vows were registered, by individuals and civic communities, of dedicating altars and churches to the patron saint whose intercession had once before been so effectual for the people of Urbino.

"About the beginning of 1605, it was announced that these devotional appeals had been crowned with success; the gloomy anticipations of the citizens were turned to joyous hope; and so formidable to the public tranquillity did the reaction of enthusiasm appear, that orders were issued for transporting into the fortress of Pesaro all the state archives, in case any tumult or conflagration might endanger their safety.

"As the Duchess's confinement drew near, the subject seemed exclusively to engross men's minds, and when her hour was reported to have arrived, the piazza in front of the palace was crowded with an impatient multitude, who remained a day and night in eager expectation. At length, on the morning of the 16th of May, the festival of the patron saint Ubaldo, to whom their prayers had been addressed, about nine o'clock, the Duke appeared at a window of the great hall, and announced with a loud and clear voice, 'God has vouchsafed us a boy!' The cheer of joyous triumph which rang through the palace-yards was but an inadequate expression of the general exultation, and the precautions taken to preserve the peace proved but too limited; for the insensate popular excitement vented itself in an

attack upon the Jews' quarter, and succeeded in sacking and burning their synagogue and shops, in spite of exertions by the military, who had been held in readiness to quell the outbreak. Meanwhile salvoes of artillery proclaimed the Prince's advent; and in grateful acknowledgment of his good fortune, his father proclaimed pardon to many prisoners, and favors to various classes of his subjects. At the same time, with due regard to good order, he checked the longer continuance of noisy and tumultuous festivity, and in particular, prohibited discharges of fire-arms under the heavy penalty of 100 scudi.

"Any scepticism which might have been secretly entertained of the infant being truly a *dieu-donne*, in special answer to the thousand prayers that had been proffered to or through S. Ubaldo, was removed or silenced by his arrival on the fête of that saint whose hold on the devotional feelings of the people was thus marvellously riveted. Among the couriers speedily despatched over the duchy to bear boot and spur the happy news, one directed to Gubbio, the city and diocese of S. Ubaldo, was charged with a special letter from Francesco Maria. Arriving in hot haste, he found the whole population assembled in arms in the piazza, with the magistrates at their head, to whom he delivered the welcome missive; after publication of which, the multitude formed a solemn procession to the cathedral, to render thanksgivings to S. Ubaldo, its and their protector. In that church, the community of Gubbio lost no time in erecting a new chapel commemorative of the occasion, and placed on the altar a picture, in which the Madonna and Child smile benignantly on the suppliant saints, John Baptist and Ubaldo (the former their original patron,) whilst in the lower part is seen the courier's arrival with the ducal despatch." — Vol. iii. pp. 165, 166.

The child was named Federigo, after the most renowned prince of his house, the glories of whose reign, according to the fond anticipations of the people, were soon to be repeated. His father soon relapsed into the state of morbid abstraction which had become a second nature to him, and the solitude of his beautiful place at Castel Durante appeared more and more attractive to his sick heart. Here he began an experiment almost unheard of in that age, — making a free constitution for his people, so that they might be enabled to govern themselves, without interrupting the leisure of their sovereign. Having obtained from the principal cities of his dominions a list of the persons best qualified for the administration of affairs, he selected one from each, so as to form a

council of eight, to whom he gave ample powers to govern in his name, and after his death to become the regency. Even the management of the foreign affairs of the duchy was confided to them. The Duke reserved nothing to himself but the privilege of writing them long letters of excellent advice, couched, however, in general terms, and carefully avoiding specific directions on particular points of difficulty or importance. The precepts that he gave were like those of the aged Mentor to Telemachus, — grave, philosophical, and moral. Leaving to others, also, the whole immediate charge of the education of his son, 'the fantastic Duke of dark corners' thought to discharge his parental duty by addressing to him similar homilies, which would have argued the writer's admirable shrewdness and good sense, if his own conduct, in thus shifting his practical duties upon others, had not entirely belied them. The fatal consequences of this great blunder were too soon apparent. As the boy manifested rather delicate health, his attendants thought it best to indulge him in every respect. Too soon he became master of himself, and found that this power was indeed a 'heritage of woe.' Anxious for the continuance of a line thus unexpectedly rescued from the peril of extinction, his father had him betrothed, at the age of four years, to the little princess Claudia, of Tuscany, aged four years and eight months; who immediately sent to her promised bridegroom the appropriate gifts of a pony, a poodle, a jackdaw, and an inkstand in the form of Mount Calvary.

Alas for the child of many hopes! From his infancy, the young Federigo manifested a reckless, vulgar, and debauched disposition. He would endure no restraint, his passion was fierce and deadly, his favorite companions were strolling players and buffoons, and his precocious gallantries soon became the scandal and the terror of the grave citizens of Urbino. His father was apprized of his faults when too late, and took a most preposterous course for amending them. He caused his nuptials to be celebrated when he was but little over sixteen years of age, and soon afterwards put entirely into his hands the reins of government, and went to shut himself up more closely than ever at Castel Durante,

"Boasted seat
Of studious peace and mild philosophy."

The only story reported to him while here, that had power to move his equaminity, was an account that his madcap son, in attempting to drive eighteen horses in hand through the streets of Urbino, had galloped over a poor child and killed him. The startled parent, forgetting his abdicated powers, instantly ordered the prince into exile; the command, however, was soon recalled or never executed. But heaven, that had punished the people of Urbino by granting their guilty prayers, was soon, in mercy, to release them from their torment. The wretched boy died just after he had completed his eighteenth year.

"The Prince moved to Urbino early in the summer [of 1623,] the company of actors forming the strength of his court, and there nightly performed with them, amid the acclamations of a rabble audience. With a view to conciliate his mother-in-law, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, whose interference in behalf of her insulted daughter he had too good reason to anticipate, he prepared a magnificent coach and six costly horses as a present to her. On the 28th of June, he acted as usual on the stage, the part which he sustained on this occasion being (according to Galuzzi) the degraded one of a pack-horse, carrying about the comedians on his back, and finally kicking off a load of crockery with which he was laden. About midnight, he retired to rest, worn out by this buffoonery, after giving orders for a chasse next day at Piobbico near Castel Durante. At dawn, hearing the clatter of the horses which were setting out for Florence, he rose and gave some orders from the window in his night-dress. In the morning, his attendants, surprised at not being summoned, and fearing he would be too late to attend mass before noon, knocked in vain at his door. Three hours passed away in doubts and speculations, and at length two of the courtiers burst open the door, exclaiming 'Up, your Highness, 'tis time for the comedy!' But for him that hour was past; the well-known and welcome words fell on an ear whose silver cord was broken. His body was under the icy grip of death; his spirit had fled to its awful account. Truly,

'All the world 's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players!'

"The body was discovered on its back, bleeding at the nose and mouth, the left hand under the pillow, one leg drawn up, and the mattress much discomposed. The Prince always slept alone, and locked himself in, without retaining any attendants in the adjoining apartment. Six strangers, with the Tuscan accent,

had been observed about the palace the day before. From these circumstances, and from his odious character, suspicions of foul play were entertained; but most of the accounts which I have seen, attribute his death to apoplexy, resulting probably from premature and excessive dissipation." — Vol. iii. pp. 196 – 198.

The miserable father, now over seventy-four years of age, was summoned back to the cares of that government from which he had vainly hoped that he was forever released. He received the news of his son's death without emotion, merely exclaiming in Latin, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." He caused the body to be deposited in a tomb in the crypt of the metropolitan cathedral, with an inscription to the following purport:—

"In this tomb,
Prepared for himself by
Francesco Maria II., Last Duke of Urbino,
Rest the ashes of
His son Federigo,
Who was cut off by a sudden death,
On the 29th June, MDCXXIII.,
Aged XVIII. years."

"On a tablet in the church of Sta. Chiara, his fate is thus touchingly commemorated: — 'The waning day saw Federigo Prince of Urbino, in whom sank the house della Rovere, sound in health, and preëminent in every gift of fortune; the succeeding dawn beheld him struck down by sudden death, on the 29th of June, 1623. Stranger! pass on, and learn that happiness, like the brittle glass, just when brightest, is most fragile.' " — Vol. iii. p. 200.

The unhappy Francesco Maria, thus called back, as it were, by a voice from heaven, to the sphere of duty which he had criminally deserted, still showed himself every inch a sovereign. Dismissing all his son's councillors, and calling around him a few able ministers, he resumed the administration with great vigor. His first cares were for his infant granddaughter, to whom the Princess Claudia had given birth not many months before the death of her husband. As a female, she could not inherit his dominions, which, it now appeared, must soon devolve to the Church. Yet she would be the heiress of all his personal and allodial property, which was very considerable; and it was important to find a home

and guardians for her, as the advanced age of the Duke rendered it certain that he could not long watch over her tender years. Fortunately, Ferdinand, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, offered to receive and educate her in his family, and eventually to marry her to his son, on condition that she should be immediately declared the heiress of her grandfather's wealth. This was done, and the infant Vittoria was immediately sent to the court of Tuscany, where she found a happy home, and eventually fulfilled the destiny that had been marked out for her, by becoming Grand Duchess of that pleasant country.

Released from this cause of anxiety, the aged Duke turned his thoughts to the future condition of his subjects. Justly conceiving that their submission to papal authority might be rendered more tolerable if an arrangement was made by which his states should be transferred to the Church during his lifetime, instead of allowing the Pope to seize them without conditions after his death, he opened a negotiation for this purpose, which, with the full but sorrowful assent of his people, was soon completed. Once, while the arrangements were in progress, the Sacred College manifesting a disposition to press their demands too far, and to enforce them by arms, the old man showed that the fire of his youth was not yet wholly spent. He reinforced his garrison at San Leo, and assumed so menacing an attitude, that the Pope hastily receded from his obnoxious position; and the affair was then amicably concluded. In January, 1625, the Bishop of Rimini arrived at Urbino, as papal governor, to take possession of his dominions. Then, amid the universal lamentation of his subjects, the Duke retired for the last time to Castel Durante, to spend the short remainder of his years.

His mind remained unclouded to the last, under the pressure of blighted hopes, desolate old age, and many bodily infirmities. Gout and paralysis reduced him to such decrepitude that he was fed like a child. Still he continued his literary intercourse with the learned monks whom he had selected and placed there; and he kept up an affectionate correspondence with his grandchild, in which, though but eight or nine years old, she performed her part with spirit and intelligence. He died in 1631, at the age of eighty-two, "bewailed by his subjects, regretted by all Italy."

We take leave of Mr. Dennistoun with many thanks for the entertainment and instruction that his work has afforded. Though not belonging to the first class of historical productions, it is an honorable monument of his diligence, accuracy, and good taste. It shows no mean power of philosophic thought, elegant criticism, and clear and vigorous narration.

Art. VI. — *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater, and Suspiria de Profundis: Biographical Essays: Miscellaneous Essays: The Cæsars: Life and Manners: Literary Reminiscences.* By Thomas De Quincey. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 7 vols. 12mo.

We have here collected, for the first time, — thanks to the good taste and enterprise of an American publisher, — the Essays and Reminiscences of a noted English writer, which have appeared, at unequal intervals, during the last thirty years, in Cyclopedias, Reviews, and Magazines. The "Confessions," which introduce this attractive series, were first published in 1821; the "Suspiria," regarded as a sequel to the "Confessions," followed after an interval of twenty-three or twenty-four years. Of the other writings, many were published between these widely separated dates, and some of them considerably subsequent to the last. The form in which they now appear is very agreeable and convenient to the reader, and we could ask only one improvement, — to be informed when and where each paper first appeared. Not to have done this seems to us quite a serious omission. Dates are often important in literary criticism, and, especially in miscellanies gathered from various sources, and extending over the period of a whole generation, they are absolutely essential, in order duly to estimate the merits and the opinions of an author.

The writings of a man are not always a correct indication of his life; yet, though it seems somewhat paradoxical to say so, a knowledge of his life affords one of the best indexes to the character and purposes of the writings. Men often live two

lives, quite disconnected and contradictory, — the inner life of thought, resolution, judgment, and fancy, and the outer life of dull, common-place fact, or insane and low excitement. Sometimes a form of literature springs from the eagerness to escape from the present and familiar. The mind, craving excitement and finding no means of gratifying it in a prosaic age, or wishing to stimulate the passions by novelty, creates a world for itself, brings back upon the scene the forms of actors who have long since played out their *rôle*, and represents in high favor personages who, in real life, would be scouted from all decent society, and soon enough receive a unanimous and fatal verdict. Highwaymen and thieves were never fewer, they never stood at a lower discount, than when Schiller wrote his Robbers, and Bulwer his Paul Clifford, and Harrison Ainsworth (alas! the bathos of our illustration!) his Jack Sheppard. Yet a knowledge of the personal history of the former of these authors, (and probably the same would be true of the others,) gives us the key to the apparent discrepancy between the spirit of the time and the fiction, and leads to a better understanding both of the author and his work.

Mr. De Quincey has given us some delightful sketches of his life; but for the reasons hinted at above, we should like to go behind the screen on which he has been pleased to cast the shadows, and see how far the reality corresponds with the picture, and learn, too, something more of those portions which now lie as a blank, since the filling of them is quite necessary for a full understanding even of what is so skilfully portrayed. Not that we doubt the truthfulness of the unusually frank narrative, or have a right to pry into personal secrets which the writer chooses to conceal; but we are sometimes in doubt whether what is stated apparently as narrative is not really meant for brilliant fiction, or at least for "fiction founded on fact."

The father of Mr. De Quincey, a West Indian merchant, died young, leaving a widow and six children with an income of £1600 a year. Our author was nearly seven years old when this event took place, in 1792; of course, he must now have advanced nearly to that boundary which the Scriptures set as the farthest limit of human life, — "The days of our years are threescore years and ten." He was early sent to

school at Bath, where he was when Sir Sidney Smith electrified the city by bringing thither the news of his own escape from the prison of the Temple in Paris. Thence he was taken to a school in Wiltshire, and afterwards, through the influence of friends, to Eton. From this place he made his first visit to London, and has given us, in a delighful paper, the various impressions made by that vast metropolis on his young imagination. Then follows a journey to Ireland, and an imperfect sketch of the Irish Rebellion. By and by, after some travelling and various minor adventures, we find him resting, between the years 1803 and 1808, under the ample shades of Oxford, of which he gives us a somewhat particular account, but which we should be glad if he had expanded to a minute and extended picture, that we might have as complete a knowledge of the Oxford of his day as Mr. Bristed has just given us of the Cambridge of our own. A scholar of rare attainments and independent judgment, a Tory in politics, a sincere son of the Church of England, a man of letters, with a patrimony sufficient, if not ample, and withal something of a recluse, rather indifferent to the public and careless of its topics of local and temporary interest, but moving in a circle of choice friends, Mr. De Quincey has passed his later life, now in the seclusion of Westmoreland, then in the heart of London, again in Edinburgh, and we know not where else, but always the same speculative student, the same ingenious and brilliant writer.

Of the volumes before us, the "Life and Manners" and the "Literary Reminiscences" are the most entertaining, although the "Cæsars" and the "Biographical Essays" contain most of permanent and solid value, in the way of learning and criticism. All these writings, however, stretching over a period of more than thirty years, are marked by similar characteristics. We are struck at once by the exquisite refinement of mind, the subtleness of association, and the extreme tenuity of the threads of thought, the gossamer filaments yet finally weaving themselves together, and thickening imperceptibly into a strong and expanded web. Mingled with this, and perhaps springing from a similar mental habit, is an occasional dreaminess both in speculation and in narrative, when the mind seems to move vaguely round in vast unreturning circles. The thoughts catch hold of no-

thing, but are heaved and tossed like masses of cloud by the wind. An incident of trivial import is turned and turned to catch the light of every possible consequence, and so magnified as to become portentous and terrible. It rises like the indefinite and intangible forms of evil in our dreams, fascinating the mind and overpowering it; and a danger too instantaneous in its action to be an object of contemplation, and too minute to be of any concern, seems to expand till it spreads over and clings to the brain, and half paralyzes every faculty. Is there in this an effect of that opium-eating which nobody ever described more forcibly?

This discursive tendency, this love of chasing a thought throughout all its possible ramifications, detract from the remarkable vigor and beauty of our author's style. What at first is pleasant, by and by becomes wearisome. Starting with a distinct object in full sight, we find ourselves soon turning from it, and wandering hither and thither, — amid fragrant groves and beside still waters, to be sure, — but yet without an aim, and with little result beside weariness of limb, and even a growing displeasure at the beguiling beauties which have cheated us along our devious way. Yet we half hesitate when we say this, in recollection of those sweet and strange dreams, those lofty and magnificent reveries, expressed in language permeated with solemn feeling, or breathing with awful passion, and of those "wandering musical variations" upon the themes of grief or joy with which every heart may sympathize. The "Suspiria" are, some of them, sighs from the lowest depths. They contain passages of unearthly beauty and mysterious power. The mind is swept away by them, into some shadowy region, where one vision of innocence, or beauty, or fear, or sorrow chases another, till all at last "fade into the light of common day."

There is, however, a tendency to a too diffuse treatment of subjects, whether serious or playful. The first paper, on "Murder as one of the Fine Arts," with its various and out-of-the-way lore, with its mixture of subtle discrimination, and satire, and "rollicking" humor, is worthy of Professor Wilson or Charles Lamb. The quaint "lecture" should have ended here with a word or two, to round it off; the second paper is worthy of nobody.

There are few of the essays that do not indicate the multi-

farious reading of the author. Whether discoursing on a fact in history, or a metaphysical speculation, or a mediæval date, or a Roman dinner, he is sure to reveal something which had before escaped us, or to fix with a new emphasis and importance what we already knew. The essay on "Dinner, real and reputed," to which we have referred, will recur to many as an example in point, the illustrations carrying the mind far beyond the strict limits of the subject, and enlightening us on no small or unimportant part of the domestic economy of both ancients and moderns. This learning, however recondite, is not cumbrous and unwieldy, or introduced for mere show, but brought skilfully to bear in sustaining a criticism admirable for subtle analysis, for cumulative energy, for genial and catholic sympathy.

Equally noticeable, as a characteristic of these writings, is an uncommon graphic power, and, as essential to it, a mastery of the resources of our language, which can come to the best minds only from a profound knowledge of our literature, joined to much, and most careful, practice. Of the importance of thoroughly studying a language he somewhere says: —

"If there is any thing in this world, that, next after the flag of his country and its spotless honor, should be holy in the eyes of a young poet, it is the language of his country. He should spend the third part of his life in studying this language and cultivating its total resources. He should be willing to pluck out his right eye, or to circumnavigate the globe, if by such a sacrifice, if by such an exertion, he could attain to greater purity, precision, compass, or idiomatic energy of diction. This, if he were even a Kalmuck Tartar, who by the way *has* the good feeling and patriotism to pride himself upon his beastly language."

This extract probably indicates the nature of De Quincey's own exertions in studying our rich tongue; with what success, we may see on every page he has written. His random contributions to philosophy make us almost wish he had literally devoted "a third of his life" to such studies, and to the invaluable record of their results. Richness and fulness of thought mark the discussion of every volume. Incidents of little moment are, with a delicate and playful humor, worked up to imaginary importance, and clothed with the garments and colors of an exuberant fancy. A barren and trivial fact, under the power of that life-giving hand, shoots out on

all sides into waving branches, and green leaves, and odoriferous flowers. It is not the fact that interests us, but the mind working upon it, investing it with mock heroic dignity, or rendering it illustrative of really serious principles; or, with the true insight of genius, discovering, in that which a vulgar eye would despise, the germs of grandeur and beauty; the passions of war in the contests of the rival factions of schoolboys, the "tragedy, in every peasant's death-bed."

Though there is enough of the playful, there is far more of the serious and earnest. Indeed, it is rare to find an author whose works seem to bear more truly and clearly the stamp of his own mind, and whose judgments, moral, political, or literary, are set down with less apparent reference to the opinions of contemporaries. We find, besides, occasional bursts of enthusiasm, the whole soul glowing and flaming in depicting a noble life, or in response to a noble theme. There is a deep sea in that mind which can be moved. There is a heart which can sympathize with heroism, and pour out its measures of praise with unstinting liberality.

Above all, we find a profound and sincere religious feeling, not merely recognized as an important, but existing as a fixed, principle of judgment. The estimates of life, in the Essays, are, in some degree at least, made with reference to the profounder emotions and the more lasting interests which are connected with a moral nature. The thought sometimes moves with a majesty which nothing but the sublimest emotions could excite or sustain. Scenes are opened to the view as awful as the grave, as solemn as the eternal destinies can render them. A mind sufficiently fertile and flexible and discursive, of wide culture, thus sustaining itself upon an immutable morality, building the superstructure of ample knowledge upon the foundation of a simple and unwavering religious faith, is best fitted for the truest judgments in literature, as well as for the safest conduct in life. A profoundly religious mind is, indeed, somewhat apt to become intense and exclusive in some directions; yet there are others where its scope is most free and its action most vigorous. But we pass from these general considerations to the volumes before us.

The interest of the Literary Reminiscences centres about Coleridge and Wordsworth. Of the twenty-three chapters

which the two volumes contain, nine are occupied directly with these great names, while, of the remainder, six at least are made up, in great part, of narrative or criticism connected with them. Wordsworth has found a loving and faithful biographer; but the life of Coleridge is yet to be written, if, indeed, it be possible to collect its *disjecta membra*, so as to frame them into one continuous biography. In lack of that, we gather up the more assiduously, here and there, from friends, and — we had nearly said — enemies, (but those he hardly had in later years,) from persons of various capacities, from judges kindly disposed but unwise, keen-sighted but unsympathizing, scattered notices of the ways of that remarkable man who has had so strong an influence upon the scholars and thinkers of his age. He seemed as indifferent to his future fame, as he was careless about his life. When a competent witness, therefore, presents himself, we listen the more eagerly to his story. Mr. De Quincey had abundant opportunities for judging of both Coleridge and Wordsworth, and was not unfriendly to either. To Coleridge, he was, at one time, (we learn it not from himself, but from Cottle's "Recollections,") especially generous. He sent to him a present of three hundred pounds, at a time when Coleridge's necessities were most urgent. It strikes us, therefore, as somewhat singular, that the very first paper on this "illustrious man, the largest and most spacious intellect, the subtlest and the most comprehensive, that has yet existed amongst men," opens with the gravest literary charge which has ever been brought against him, — namely, plagiarism; and that, too, of about the worst kind. Coleridge, as De Quincey seems bent on making it out, was unwilling to acknowledge even the slight and trifling obligations which he lay under for the bare facts on which he based some of his poems. In reading all this over, one would not conjecture, and it certainly does appear very strange, that the sole object of establishing the charge was to enable the writer to declare as his conviction, after having closely followed Coleridge's line of reading for thirty years, that, notwithstanding many minor thefts, he is "as entirely original in all his capital pretensions as any one man that ever existed, as Archimedes in ancient days, or as Shakspeare in modern." Notwithstanding this very positive declaration, we cannot but

think this a queer way of "backing one's friends." This subject, however, so far as it has any interest, has been elsewhere so fully discussed as not to require to be re-opened.

The name of Nether Stowey, a little town among the Quantock hills in Somersetshire, not far from the Bristol Channel, is familiar to all acquainted with the writings of Coleridge. Thither Mr. De Quincey, in the year 1807, then about twenty-two years old, betook himself, in search of the already distinguished poet and philosopher, some fifteen years his senior, who had recently returned from Malta. Not finding him there, the undiscouraged follower proceeded to Bridgewater, fortified with all necessary directions for discovering the object of his search. We give the result in his own words; and this description of the personal appearance of the philosopher may call to mind a still more striking one lately published by a distinguished author.

"I had received directions for finding out the house where Coleridge was visiting; and, in riding down a main street of Bridgewater, I noticed a gateway corresponding to the description given me. Under this was standing, and gazing about him, a man whom I shall describe. In height, he might seem to be about five feet eight; (he was, in reality, about an inch and a half taller, but his figure was of an order which drowns the height;) his person was broad and full, and tended even to corpulence; his complexion was fair, though not what painters technically style fair, because it was associated with black hair; his eyes were large and soft in their expression; and it was from the peculiar appearance of haze or dreaminess, which mixed with their light, that I recognized my object. This was Coleridge. I examined him steadfastly for a minute or more; and it struck me that he saw neither myself nor any other object in the street. He was in a deep reverie; for I had dismounted, made two or three trifling arrangements at an inn door, and advanced close to him, before he had apparently become conscious of my presence. The sound of my voice, announcing my own name, first awoke him; he started, and, for a moment, seemed at a loss to understand my purpose or his own situation; for he repeated rapidly a number of words which had no relation to either of us. There was no *mauvaise honte* in his manner, but simple perplexity, and an apparent difficulty in recovering his position amongst daylight realities. This little scene over, he received me with a kindness of manner so marked that it might be called gracious. The hospitable family, with whom he was domesticated, were distin-

guished for their amiable manners and enlightened understandings: they were descendants from Chubb, the philosophic writer, and bore the same name. For Coleridge, they all testified deep affection and esteem — sentiments in which the whole town of Bridgewater seemed to share; for, in the evening, when the heat of the day had declined, I walked out with him; and, rarely, perhaps never, have I seen a person so much interrupted in one hour's space as Coleridge, on this occasion, by the courteous attentions of young and old." — *Lit. Rem.* vol. i. pp. 164, 165.

Coleridge was then the same mighty discourser that he continued throughout his life. After some little points of business between them were settled, De Quincey goes on to say, —

"Coleridge, — like some great river, the Orellana, or the St. Lawrence, that had been checked and fretted by rocks or thwarting islands, and suddenly recovers its volume of waters, and its mighty music, — swept at once, as if returning to his natural business, into a continuous strain of eloquent dissertation, certainly the most novel, the most finely illustrated, and traversing the most spacious fields of thought, by transitions the most just and logical, that it was possible to conceive." — *Lit. Rem.* i. 167.

We have no time to follow out, with care, the interesting and discriminating sketch which follows. What the relations were between the two in after life, we do not entirely know; but though the early enthusiasm of the follower was cooled by years, and the judgment in some respects modified or reversed, yet De Quincey seems never to have lost his reverence for that "capacious and subtle intellect."

With Wordsworth, the relations of our author seem to have been, in after times, more familiar; and the pictures which he gives of the family, at various times, are very delightful. And then his judgment of the great poet is philosophical, and in the highest degree honest and just. Yet there happened to them a bitter estrangement. The cause is not fully explained; but it seemed that De Quincey, (and not he alone,) expected a return of friendship from the poet, in view of their admiration of him, which they were far from receiving. The fact is stated with extraordinary frankness, and without casting harsh blame upon Wordsworth. Were the strong affections and antipathies of each such as hardly to lie peaceably side by side? Were the idiosyncrasies of each such that the one would naturally require too much homage, the other

ask too liberal a sympathy? We are not called to judge between them, but can easily understand how an unfriendly feeling might arise.

But whatever drawbacks there may be to our author's unqualified admiration of those two greatest literary names of their age, there is none at all in his love for Charles Lamb. We can pardon much in one who understands and heartily loves Elia; "loves and reverences," we might say, for Lamb's life, though most attractive to our affection, has in it an element of grandeur impossible to mistake or to disregard. He who long seemed but as the most graceful of triflers, full of quaint conceits and rare humor, with wide and strange sympathies, stands up at the last as a serious, resolute, self-denying man. The moral resolution with which he bore up under severe family affliction, and the ever threatening aspect of a terrible personal calamity, under which every hope might, at almost any moment, sink into a bottomless abyss, was only equalled by his real humility, and the manly dignity which led him to endure the trial in silence, without complaint, or even the knowledge of many of his most intimate friends. On the ground of Lamb's life and literary merits, De Quincey marches with a most joyful tread. He is discriminating too, not misled by personal admiration, nor blind to the failings which some have taken for the essential and controlling elements of Lamb's character. There is a passage in the Reminiscences which is inimitable for its description of Lamb's "festive mirth."

"He was joyous, radiant with wit and frolic, mounting with the sudden motion of a rocket into the highest heaven of outrageous fun and absurdity; then bursting into a fiery shower of puns, chasing syllables with the agility of a squirrel bounding among the trees, or a cat pursuing its own tail; but in the midst of all this stormy gayety, he never said or did any thing that could, by possibility, wound or annoy." . . . . . "The sensibility of his organization was so exquisite, that effects which travel by separate stages with most other men, in him fled along the nerves with the velocity of light."— *Lit. Rem.* vol. i. pp. 126, 127.

In a review, published years afterward, De Quincey thus sums up the estimate of his life with hearty affection and the surest justice and truth.

"Charles Lamb is gone; his life was a continued struggle in

the service of love the purest, and within a sphere visited by little of contemporary applause. Even his intellectual displays won but a narrow sympathy at any time, and in his earlier period, were saluted with positive derision and contumely on the few occasions when they were not oppressed by entire neglect. But slowly all things right themselves. All merit, which is founded in truth, and is strong enough, reaches, by sweet exhalations, in the end, a higher sensory; reaches higher organs of discernment, lodged in a selecter audience. But the original obtuseness or vulgarity of feeling, that thwarted Lamb's just estimation in life, will continue to thwart its popular diffusion. There are even some that continue to regard him with the old hostility. And we, therefore, standing by the side of Lamb's grave, seemed to hear, on one side, (but in abated tones,) strains of the ancient malice — 'This man, that thought himself to be somebody, is dead — is buried — is forgotten!' and, on the other side, seemed to hear ascending, as with the solemnity of an anthem — 'This man, that thought himself to be nobody, is dead — is buried; his life has been searched; and his memory is hallowed forever!'" *Biog. Essays*, p. 219.

Less elaborate and complete are the sketches of Southey, Sir Humphrey Davy, Mr. Godwin, Edward Irving, Wilson, Talfourd, and some others. The points of Mr. De Quincey's mind seem to be most happily displayed upon biographical and historical subjects. The facts, which he is bound to develop and illustrate, form the solid nucleus around which his thoughts must revolve, and which he may irradiate by the various light of his ample learning and moral and metaphysical discernment, while he is prevented from taking those wider and wilder excursions to which he is sometimes tempted, and which are apt to terminate nowhere. We cannot readily find examples of criticism better sustained or more just than the papers on Shakspeare, Pope, Goethe, and Schiller. We suppose, however, that the admirers of Goethe would be dissatisfied with the judgment passed upon him. Elsewhere he thus speaks of him in comparison with Coleridge. "Both are now gone — Goethe and Coleridge; both are honored by those who knew them, and by multitudes who did not. But the honors of Coleridge are perennial, and will annually grow more verdant; whilst from those of Goethe, every generation will see something fall away, until posterity will wonder at the subverted idol, whose basis being hollow and

unsound, will leave the worship of their fathers an enigma to their descendants." Schiller is evidently the favorite, and he quotes with satisfaction, as if it had been fully answered, the "sublime and pathetic" prayer offered up by the father of Schiller, on the birth of his son. The finest of these critical pieces is that on Shakspeare, "the most august among created intellects," whose station in literature is pronounced "by the unanimous 'all hail!' of intellectual Christendom." We will quote but one passage to show his manner of treating the theme.

"In the great world, therefore, of woman, as the interpreter of the shifting phases and the lunar varieties of that mighty changeable planet, that lovely satellite of man, Shakspeare stands not the first only, not the original only, but is yet the sole authentic oracle of truth. Woman, therefore, the beauty of the female mind, *this* is one great field of his power. The supernatural world, the world of apparitions, *that* is another. For reasons which it would be easy to give, reasons emanating from the gross mythology of the ancients, no Grecian, no Roman, could have conceived a ghost. That shadowy conception, the protesting apparition, the awful projection of the human conscience, belongs to the Christian mind. And in all Christendom, who, let us ask, who, who but Shakspeare has found the power for effectually working this mysterious mode of being? In summoning back to earth 'the majesty of buried Denmark,' how like an awful necromancer does Shakspeare appear! All the pomps and grandeurs which religion, which the grave, which the popular superstition, had gathered about the subject of apparitions, are here converted to his purpose, and bend to one awful effect. The wormy grave brought into antagonism with the scenting of the early dawn; the trumpet of resurrection suggested, and again as an antagonist idea to the crowing of the cock, (a bird ennobled in the Christian mythus by the part he is made to play at the Crucifixion;) its starting 'as a guilty thing,' placed in opposition to its majestic expression of offended dignity when struck at by the partisans of the sentinels; its awful allusions to the secrets of its prison-house; its ubiquity, contrasted with its local presence; its aerial substance, yet clothed in palpable armor; the heart-shaking solemnity of its language, and the appropriate scenery of its haunt, viz., the ramparts of a capital fortress, with no witnesses but a few gentlemen mounting guard at the dead of night, — what a mist, what a *mirage* of vapor, is here accumulated, through which the dreadful being in the centre looms upon us in far larger proportions, than could have hap-

pened had it been insulated and left naked of this circumstantial pomp! In the *Tempest*, again, what new modes of life, preternatural, yet far as the poles from the spiritualities of religion!" — *Biog. Essays*, pp. 75, 76.

The essay on Joan of Arc, in reference to M. Michelet's History of France, is in another style, lofty, fervid, and impassioned. We give three passages from it, as indicating its character. It thus abruptly opens.

"What is to be thought of *her?* What is to be thought of the poor shepherd girl from the hills and forests of Lorraine, that — like the Hebrew shepherd boy from the hills and forests of Judæa — rose suddenly out of the quiet, out of the safety, out of the religious inspiration, rooted in deep pastoral solitudes, to a station in the van of armies, and to the more perilous station at the right hand of kings? The Hebrew boy inaugurated his patriotic mission by an *act*, by a victorious *act*, such as no man could deny. But so did the girl of Lorraine, if we read her story as it was read by those who saw her nearest. Adverse armies bore witness to the boy as no pretender: but so they did to the gentle girl. Judged by the voices of all who saw them *from a station of good will*, both were found true and loyal to any promises involved in their first acts. Enemies it was that made the difference between their subsequent fortunes. The boy rose — to a splendor and a noonday prosperity, both personal and public, that rang through the records of his people, and became a byeword amongst his posterity for a thousand years, until the sceptre was departing from Judah. The poor, forsaken girl, on the contrary, drank not herself from that cup of rest which she had secured for France. She never sang together with the songs that rose in her native Domrémy, as echoes to the departing steps of invaders. She mingled not in the festal dances at Vaucouleurs, which celebrated in rapture the redemption of France. No! for her voice was then silent: No! for her feet were dust. Pure, innocent, noble-hearted girl! whom, from earliest youth, ever I believed in as full of truth and self-sacrifice, this was amongst the strongest pledges for *thy* side, that never once — no, not for a moment of weakness — didst thou revel in the vision of coronets and honor from man. Coronets for thee! O no! Honors, if they come when all is over, are for those that share thy blood. Daughter of Domrémy, when the gratitude of thy king shall awaken, thou wilt be sleeping the sleep of the dead. Call her, King of France, but she will not hear thee! Cite her by thy apparitors to come and receive a robe of honor, but she will be found *en contumace*. When the

thunders of universal France, as even yet may happen, shall proclaim the grandeur of the poor shepherd girl that gave up all for her country — thy ear, young shepherd girl, will have been deaf for five centuries. To suffer and to do, that was thy portion in this life; to *do* — never for thyself, always for others; to *suffer* — never in the persons of generous champions, always in thy own — that was thy destiny; and not for a moment was it hidden from thyself." — *Mis. Essays*, pp. 78, 79.

Here is a passage on the influences to which this peasant girl had been exposed, as going to elucidate the singular fact in her history, that she, ignorant and unfriended, should have undertaken so great a mission.

"The education of this poor girl was mean according to the present standard: was ineffably grand, according to a purer philosophic standard; and only not good for our age, because for us it would be unattainable. She read nothing, for she could not read; but she had heard others read parts of the Roman martyrology. She wept in sympathy with the sad *Misereres* of the Romish chanting; she rose to heaven with the glad triumphant *Gloria in Excelsis;* she drew her comfort and her vital strength from the rites of her church. But, next after these spiritual advantages, she owed most to the advantages of her situation. The fountain of Domrémy was on the brink of a boundless forest; and it was haunted to that degree by fairies that the parish priest (*curé*) was obliged to read mass there once a year, in order to keep them in any decent bounds. Fairies are important, even in a statistical view; certain weeds mark poverty in the soil, fairies mark its solitude. As surely as the wolf retires before cities, does the fairy sequester herself from the haunts of licensed victuallers. A village is too much for her nervous delicacy; at most, she can tolerate a distant view of a hamlet. We may judge, therefore, by the uneasiness and extra trouble which they gave to the parson, in what strength the fairies mustered at Domrémy, and, by a satisfactory consequence, how thinly sown with men and women must have been that region, even its inhabited spots. But the forests of Domrémy — those were the glories of the land: for, in them abode mysterious powers and ancient secrets that towered into tragic strength. 'Abbeys there were, and abbey windows, dim and dimly seen — as Moorish temples of the Hindoos,' that exercised even princely power both in Lorraine and in the German Diets. These had their sweet bells that pierced the forests for many a league at matins or vespers, and each its own dreamy legend. Few enough, and scattered enough, were these abbeys, in no degree

to disturb the deep solitude of the region; many enough to spread a network or awning of Christian sanctity over what else might have seemed a heathen wilderness. This sort of religious talisman being secured, a man the most afraid of ghosts (like myself, suppose, or the reader,) becomes armed into courage to wander for days in their sylvan recesses." — *Mis. Essays*, pp. 91, 92.

We quote finally the grand and solemn picture with which the essay, full of faith throughout in the honesty, simplicity, nobleness of purpose, and devout religious spirit of the wonderful girl, contrasts the end of *her* life with that of her great persecutor, the Bishop of Beauvais.

"Bishop of Beauvais! thy victim died in fire upon a scaffold — thou upon a down bed. But for the departing minutes of life, both are oftentimes alike. At the farewell crisis, when the gates of death are opening, and flesh is resting from its struggles, oftentimes the tortured and the torturer have the same truce from carnal torment; both sink together into sleep; together both, sometimes, kindle into dreams. When the mortal mists were gathering fast upon you two, Bishop and Shepherd girl — when the pavilions of life were closing up their shadowy curtains about you — let us try, through the gigantic glooms, to decipher the flying features of your separate visions.

"The shepherd girl that had delivered France — she, from her dungeon, she, from her baiting at the stake, she, from her duel with fire, as she entered her last dream — saw Domrémy, saw the fountain of Domrémy, saw the pomp of forests in which her childhood had wandered. That Easter festival, which man had denied to her languishing heart — that resurrection of spring-time, which the darkness of dungeons had intercepted from *her*, hungering after the glorious liberty of forests — were by God given back into her hands, as jewels that had been stolen from her by robbers. With those, perhaps, (for the minutes of dreams can stretch into ages,) was given back to her by God the bliss of childhood. By special privilege, for *her* might be created, in this farewell dream, a second childhood, innocent as the first; but not, like *that*, sad with the gloom of a fearful mission in the rear. This mission had now been fulfilled. The storm was weathered, the skirts even of that mighty storm were drawing off. The blood, that she was to reckon for, had been exacted; the tears, that she was to shed in secret, had been paid to the last. The hatred to herself in all eyes had been faced steadily, had been suffered, had been survived. And in her last fight upon the scaffold, she had triumphed gloriously; victoriously she had tasted the stings of death. For all, except this comfort from her

farewell dream, she had died — died, amidst the tears of ten thousand enemies — died, amidst the drums and trumpets of armies — died, amidst peals redoubling upon peals, volleys upon volleys, from the saluting clarions of martyrs.

"Bishop of Beauvais! because the guilt-burdened man is in dreams haunted and waylaid by the most frightful of his crimes, and because upon that fluctuating mirror — rising (like the mocking mirrors of *mirage* in Arabian deserts) from the fens of death — most of all are reflected the sweet countenances which the man has laid in ruins; therefore I know, Bishop, that you, also, entering your final dream, saw Domrémy. That fountain, of which the witnesses spoke so much, showed itself to your eyes in pure morning dews; but neither dews, nor the holy dawn, could cleanse away the bright spots of innocent blood upon its surface. By the fountain, Bishop, you saw a woman seated, that hid her face. But as *you* draw near, the woman raises her wasted features. Would Domrémy know them again for the features of her child? Ah, but *you* know them, Bishop, well! Oh, mercy! what a groan was *that* which the servants, waiting outside the Bishop's dream at his bedside, heard from his laboring heart, as at this moment he turned away from the fountain and the woman, seeking rest in the forests afar off. Yet not *so* to escape the woman, whom once again he must behold before he dies. In the forests to which he prays for pity, will he find a respite? What a tumult, what a gathering of feet is there! In glades, where only wild deer should run, armies and nations are assembling; towering in the fluctuating crowd are phantoms that belong to departed hours. There is the great English Prince, Regent of France. There is my Lord of Winchester, the princely Cardinal, that died and made no sign. There is the Bishop of Beauvais, clinging to the shelter of thickets. What building is that which hands so rapid are raising? Is it a martyr's scaffold? Will they burn the child of Domrémy a second time? No: it is a tribunal that rises to the clouds; and two nations stand around it, waiting for a trial. Shall my Lord of Beauvais sit again upon the judgment-seat, and again number the hours for the innocent? Ah! no: he is the prisoner at the bar. Already all is waiting; the mighty audience is gathered, the Court is hurrying to their seats, the witnesses are arrayed, the trumpets are sounding, the judge is going to take his place. Oh! but this is sudden. My lord, have you no counsel? 'Counsel I have none: in heaven above, or on earth beneath, counsellor there is none now that would take a brief from *me:* all are silent.' Is it, indeed, come to this? Alas! the time is short, the tumult is wondrous, the crowd stretches away into

infinity, but yet I will search in it for somebody to take your brief: I know of somebody that will be your counsel. Who is this that cometh from Domrémy? Who is she that cometh in bloody coronation robes from Rheims? Who is she that cometh with blackened flesh from walking the furnaces of Rouen? This is she, the shepherd girl, counsellor that had none for herself, whom I choose, Bishop, for yours. She it is, I engage, that shall take my lord's brief. She it is, Bishop, that would plead for you: yes, Bishop, SHE — when heaven and earth are silent." *Mis. Essays*, pp. 117 – 120.

Our object in these extracts has been simply to give those of our readers who have not themselves fallen in with the works, some idea of this fertile, but desultory writer. Throughout these volumes, we might pick out scores of delightful descriptions, and brief but subtle disquisitions on topics of great variety of interest. In the second volume of the Literary Reminiscences is a highly wrought and touching description of a remarkable suicide among the mountains of Cumberland, which we quote entire.

"There was a case, a little before I came into the country, of a studious and meditative young boy, who found no pleasure but in books, and the search after knowledge. He languished, with a sort of despairing nympholepsy, after intellectual pleasures — for which he felt too well assured that *his* term of allotted time, the short period of years through which his relatives had been willing to support him at St. Bees, was rapidly drawing to an end. In fact, it was just at hand; and he was sternly required to take a long farewell of the poets and geometricians for whose sublime contemplations he hungered and thirsted. One week was to have transferred him to some huxtering concern, which, not in any spirit of pride he ever affected to despise, but which in utter alienation of heart he loathed — as one whom nature, and his own diligent cultivation of the opportunities recently open to him for a brief season, had dedicated to another yoke. He mused — revolved his situation in his own mind — computed his power to liberate himself from the bondage of dependency — calculated the chances of his ever obtaining this liberation, from change in the position of his family, or revolution in his fortunes — and, finally, attempted conjecturally to determine the amount of effect which his new and illiberal employments might have upon his own mind in weaning him from his present elevated tasks, and unfitting him for their enjoyment in distant years, when circumstances might again place it in his power to indulge them.

"These meditations were, in part, communicated to a friend; and in part, also, the result to which they brought him. That this result was gloomy, his friend knew; but not, as in the end it appeared, that it was despairing. Such, however, it was: and, accordingly, having satisfied himself that the chances of a happier destiny were for him slight or none — and having, by a last fruitless effort, ascertained that there was no hope whatever of mollifying his relatives, or of obtaining a year's delay of his sentence — he walked quietly up to the cloudy wildernesses within Blencathara; read his Æschylus, (perhaps in those appropriate scenes of the Prometheus, that pass amidst the wild valleys of the Caucasus, and below the awful summits, untrod by man, of the ancient Elborus,) read him for the last time; for the last time fathomed the abyss-like subtleties of his favorite geometrician, the mighty Apollonius; for the last time retraced some parts of the narrative, so simple in its natural grandeur, composed by that imperial captain, the most majestic man of ancient history —

'The foremost man of all this world,'

in the confession of his enemies — the first of the Cæsars. These three authors — Æschylus, Apollonius, and Cæsar — he studied until the daylight waned, and the stars began to appear. Then he made a little pile of the three volumes that served him for a pillow; took a dose, such as he had heard would be sufficient, of laudanum; laid his head upon the records of the three mighty spirits of elder times; and, with his face upturned to the heavens and the stars, slipped quietly away into a sleep upon which no morning ever dawned. The laudanum — whether it were from the effect of the open air, or from some peculiarity of temperament — had not produced sickness in the first stage of its action, nor convulsions in the last. But from the serenity of his countenance, and from the tranquil maintenance of his original supine position — for his head was still pillowed upon the three intellectual Titans, Greek and Roman, and his eyes were still directed towards the stars — it would appear that he had died placidly, and without a struggle. In this way, the imprudent boy, who, like Chatterton, would not wait for the change that a day might bring, obtained the liberty he sought; and whatsoever, in his last scene of life, was not explained by the objects and the arrangement of the objects about him, found a sufficient solution in previous conversations with various acquaintances, and in his confidential explanations of his purposes, which he had communicated, so far as he felt it safe, to his only friend." — *Lit. Rem.* vol. ii. pp. 93 – 95.

Here is a fine passage on the tendency of sailors to superstition.

"All sailors, it is notorious, are superstitious; partly, I sup-

pose, from looking out so much upon the wilderness of waves, empty of all human life; for mighty solitudes are generally fear-haunted and fear-peopled; such, for instance, as the solitudes of forests, where, in the absence of human forms and ordinary human sounds, are discerned forms more dusky and vague, not referred by the eye to any known type, and sounds imperfectly intelligible. And, therefore, are all German coal-burners, wood-cutters, &c., superstitious. Now the sea is often peopled, amidst its ravings, with what seem innumerable human voices — such voices, or as ominous, as what was heard by Kubla Khan — 'ancestral voices prophesying war;' oftentimes laughter mixes, from a distance, (seeming to come also from distant times, as well as distant places,) with the uproar of waters; and doubtless shapes of fear, or shapes of beauty not less awful, are at times seen upon the waves by the diseased eye of the sailor, in other cases besides the somewhat rare one of calenture. This vast solitude of the sea being taken, therefore, as one condition of the superstitious fear found so commonly among sailors, a second may be the perilous insecurity of their own lives — or, (if the lives of sailors, after all, by means of large immunities from danger in other shapes, are *not* so insecure as is supposed, though, by the way, it is enough for this result that, to themselves, they seem so,) yet at all events, the insecurity of the ships in which they sail. In such a case, in the case of battle, and in others where the empire of chance seems absolute, there the temptation is greatest to dally with supernatural oracles and supernatural means of consulting them. Finally, the interruption habitually of all ordinary avenues to information about the fate of their dearest relatives; the consequent agitation which must often possess those who are reëntering upon home waters; and the sudden burst, upon stepping ashore, of heart-shaking news in long accumulated arrears — these are circumstances which dispose the mind to look out for relief towards signs and omens as one way of breaking the shock by dim anticipations." *Life and Man.* pp. 206, 207.

We can hardly help quoting the admirable criticism on the English language contained in pp. 297–301 of the same volume, principally because it so clearly indicates the value of the Latin element in our tongue, at a time when it is the fashion to cry up the Anglo-Saxon portion as sufficient for all purposes. But we forbear, and will only please ourselves with the following description of German prose style, which many a learner of that language will find some relief in subscribing to with all his heart. He is speaking specially of the style of Kant.

"To German poetry, there is a known, fixed, calculable limit. Infinity, absolute infinity, is impracticable in any German metre. Not so with German prose. Style, in any sense, is an inconceivable idea to a German intellect. Take the word in the limited sense of what the Greeks called *Συνθεσις ὀνοματαν* — that is, the construction of sentences — I affirm that a German (unless it were here and there a Lessing) cannot admit such an idea. Books there are in German, and, in other respects, very good books too, which consist of one or two enormous sentences. A German sentence describes an arch between the rising and the setting sun. Take Kant for illustration: he has actually been complimented by the cloud-spinner, Frederick Schlegel, who is now in Hades, as a most original artist in the matter of style. 'Original,' Heaven knows he was! His idea of a sentence was as follows: We have all seen or read of an old family coach, and the process of packing it for a journey to London some seventy or eighty years ago. Night and day, for a week at least, sat the housekeeper, the lady's maid, the butler, the gentlemen's gentleman, &c. packing the huge ark in all its recesses, its 'imperials,' its 'wills,' its 'Salisbury boots,' its 'sword-cases,' its front pockets, side pockets, rear pockets, its 'hammer-cloth cellars,' (which a lady explains to me as a corruption from *hamper-cloth*, as originally a cloth for hiding a hamper stored with *viaticum*,) until all the uses and needs of man and of human life, savage or civilized, were met with separate provision by the infinite chaos. Pretty nearly upon the model of such an old family coach packing, did Kant institute and pursue the packing and stuffing of one of his regular sentences. Every thing that could ever be needed in the way of explanation, illustration, restraint, inference, by-clauses, or indirect comment, was to be crammed, according to this German philosopher's taste, into the front pockets, side pockets, or rear pockets of the one original sentence. Hence it is that a sentence will last in reading whilst a man

'Might reap an acre of his neighbor's corn.'"

Life and Man. pp. 314, 315.

We are not called upon to assign a definite rank to Mr. De Quincey among authors. His complete published works have not at this time come under our notice, nor, we trust, is his literary labor yet done. For the high merits which we have sufficiently illustrated, for learning, exuberance and subtlety of thought, mastery of the language, noble and genial enthusiasm, and resolute honesty, we believe these writings destined to be added to the permanent treasures of literature. We should have rejoiced to see a mind so large

and so amply furnished, moving in a wider circle, illustrating the broad fields of history, or general literature, or moral or metaphysical science, instead of prodigally spending its abundant resources in splendid, but comparatively desultory, efforts. A greater unity of literary life would have insured a more solid and larger fame, and a more enduring influence. Has the same infirmity of will, which marked the course of S. T. Coleridge, been found in this life too? and may it, in both cases, be traced to a similar cause? Nevertheless, though literature in the hands of Mr. De Quincey does not take its widest range, yet neither is it narrow, nor exclusive, nor unfruitful. Many will come reverently and gladly to light their lamps at these brilliant and many-colored flames. His name, too, will be associated in not unworthy fellowship with those of Coleridge, and Wordsworth, and Southey, and Wilson, and Lamb, the greater and the lesser lights in that constellation which has glorified the firmament of England during the first half of our eventful century.

Art. VII. — *The Past, Present, and Future of the Republic.* Translated from the French of Alphonse de Lamartine, author of "The History of the Girondists," "Memoirs of my Youth," &c. New York: Harpers. 1850. 12mo. pp. 163.

Impenetrable self-ignorance is undoubtedly the most salient feature of Lamartine's character. This results in great part from an egoism too intense and engrossing to permit him ever to contemplate himself objectively. But, as he appears to us at certainly a sufficient distance for a just perspective, he possesses no great qualities. As a writer, he is sentimental rather than imaginative. He has few original conceptions, but is a skilful manipulator of the current language of feeling. He has a strong poetic susceptibility, yet lacks creative genius.

The true poet can always be, if he will, a man of practical wisdom; for his mission is not to disfigure or to derange

the things that are, but to create things which previously were not. The forms called into being by his fancy have a realm of their own, entirely distinct from the external world. The sentimentalist, on the other hand, looks at existing objects through colored and distorted media, and his conceptions are in one direction excessive, in another inadequate, in all grotesque. In the department of politics, there recur to our memory two striking illustrations of this contrast, in Milton and Rousseau. Had Milton devoted himself wholly to the science of government, he would probably have had a less keen insight into the grounds, the limitations, and the safeguards of constitutional freedom; for from beyond "the flaming bounds of space" he brought back to earthly things a vision purged and clarified by its conversance with things heavenly. Rousseau recognized no line of demarcation between the ideal and the actual. He lacked the creative power on which he prided himself, and had just enough of fancy, and just little enough of common sense, to paint in gross caricature alike the facts of experience and the subjects of speculation. The staple of his republic, therefore, is "such stuff as dreams are made of."

Lamartine is a politician of the Rousseau school, and, in England or in this country, would sooner have been made a tinker than a statesman. His part in the revolution of 1848, taken by itself, would authorize us in regarding him as a profligate adventurer, cloaking under the show of patriotism and philanthropy an ambition as reckless and sanguinary as Catiline's. Yet, when we read his political writings, we are inclined to regard him as rather a fool than a knave. We can conceive of him as honest, so far as honesty can be affirmed of a man who intermeddles with affairs which neither native talent nor acquired wisdom has qualified him to handle. His histories are abortive epic poems. His speculations on government display equal ignorance of the actual, and unskilfulness in the treatment of the ideal. The man who could write thus can hardly be deemed morally responsible for the foolhardiness of the revolution, or for the details of his own conduct as a revolutionist.

The book before us is a strange medley of inconsequent reasoning, declamatory radicalism, and mawkish sentimentality. The best portion of it is the Introduction, which we quote entire.

"Under the monarchy, the two chambers every year prepared an address to the king, by way of response to the speech from the throne. In this address they exposed, with more or less sincerity, the general situation of the kingdom, and very briefly treated two or three of the principal affairs of the state. This was sufficient in a time and under a system in which the people had neither eye, nor will, nor hand in the public business; in a time when the government of thirty-six million souls belonged alone to two hundred and sixty thousand political citizens called electors, to two hundred peers of France, to four hundred deputies, and to a dynasty. What concern, then, had the rest of the nation, that is to say, the thirty-five millions and a half of citizens, without right, without opinion, and without political action, in being informed as to the real situation of things, of the general mind of Europe, of the government? It was enough for them to read once a year the newly-enacted laws, in order to know what they must obey, and the amount of their taxes sent them by the collector, in order to know how much they had to pay. To obey and to pay then made up the man; to know, to judge, to appreciate, to deliberate, to wish, to choose, to elect, to pay a voluntary obedience to the law, which is but the general will, such is now the duty of the citizen.

"These two so different conditions of the subject of the law, not consulted in its enactment under the monarchy, and the citizen, the author and executor of the law in the Republic, require conditions equally different in the nature of the publicity given to affairs, and in the elements of the political notions to be disseminated among the public. To KNOW ITSELF is the first necessity of a nation which the republican state calls to the office of self-government. It is, then, to the people that we must now address those reports upon the true situation of the Republic, upon the whole, and the details of the public business, which in times past were prepared for the king. It is to the people that we must present the faithful mirror of all the ideas and all the facts visible on the horizon of the past and of the future year, saying, Behold thyself as thou art! Behold things and men! Behold the route on which thou art travelling! Behold the events and the progress accomplished! Behold the dangers which threaten thee! Behold the evils with which factions afflict thee, the good with which Providence blesses! And act, foresee, provide, choose; govern thyself by this information, on which thou canst rely, because it is given aloud, in open day, and under the responsibility of men whose names are signed to their words.

"This it is that has inspired me with the idea of recapitulating briefly, for the use of those who have not the time to read every

morning the innumerable swarm of public journals, the principal events since the foundation of the Republic; of analyzing the ideas, the doctrines, the opinions, the illusions, the truths which dispute possession of the intelligence of the masses. My purpose is, therefore, to prepare a sort of general report on the situation of Europe, particularly of France, in the form of an Address to the People. Under the Republic, all is not done, — the principal thing, even, is not done, when we govern by the laws. We must also govern by convictions. What is it that governs convictions? It is the truth. Here, then, follows the truth upon our situation, as far as a man may flatter himself that he sees it and speaks it." pp. 5, 6.

The chief object of the book is to demonstrate the indestructibility of the French Republic. The demonstration, which runs through many pages, we might condense into a single sentence. There are so many mutually hostile parties in France, that, (though the great majority are either attached to one or another form in which royalty might be restored, or else belong to the lower depths of communism or red republicanism,) no one of the parties out of power is strong enough to gain supremacy for itself, or hates the existing regime less cordially than it hates each and all of its rival parties out of power. Consequently, the balanced repulsions of mutual hatred will insure perpetuity to the republic as now organized, as effectually as it would be secured by the loyal attachment of the entire nation. Strange to say, we were not convinced. We reached the rash conclusion, however, that the republic would last till April, and that an article written upon it would not become obsolete during its passage through the press. We read the book one evening, and extinguished our study lamp with the intention of commencing our article the next morning. But in the morning, on our way to market, we were told that the French republic was no more. We then became afraid to hazard our reputation by speculating on French affairs, apprehending that, while our lucubrations were passing through the slow press of the Quarterly, the Daily Gazette might chronicle a brace or two of revolutions which had not entered into our horoscope. We have therefore determined to change our hand, and, taking our text from the condition of France, to try our skill upon the problem, which the French are so blindly endeavoring to solve, The Future of Labor.

We may comprise the complaints made as to the condition of the laboring classes under two heads, namely, that they are *overworked* and *underfed*. The two desiderata claimed for them are *more ample leisure* and *fuller remuneration*, — demands which at first sight seem to clash with each other, but which, as we shall see in the sequel, must proceed toward realization *pari passu*.

What constitutes wages? It is a fundamental truth of political economy, that value grows from labor, that cost and toil are reciprocal terms, that commodities have an average market price in precise proportion to the labor expended in their production and transportation, so that a day's wages is the ultimate measure of all value. But behind this truth lies another, of equal interest to the economist and the moralist; namely, that the wages of labor depend on the self-respect, the culture, and the social position of the laborer, which determine what remuneration he is competent to demand and society will deem it just to award to him. Thus, if wages are higher in New England than in any other part of the world, this fact is to be ascribed chiefly to the high standard of education on the part of the laboring classes, which places them in a condition in which they can claim, with the general consent of their employers, a corresponding measure of individual and domestic comfort and enjoyment. And, if wages are to be generally reduced among us by competition from abroad, it will not be by the number of the competitors, so much as by their lower standard of self-respect and of comfort, by their contented acquiescence in rags and squalidness. The respective dividends of the earnings of labor, which shall accrue to the capitalist and the laborer, have no determinate measure, nor is it possible to fix upon any rule of proportion which should be applied to them independently of circumstances. Capital should, and always will, in the long run, repay itself with increase, else it would become fixed and non-productive; and we can conceive of a rate of wages which should paralyze industry, and cause stagnation in the whole social system. But there is no intrinsic necessity, either economical or moral, for a state of things in which capitalists shall grow rapidly rich, while laborers remain permanently poor. It is necessary and right, that, in the common operations of industry, capital should be accumulated in

sufficient masses to furnish safety-funds against occasional loss, and movement-funds for extended operations. But the frequent opportunity for amassing great wealth is not an essential element of a healthy industrial system. The surface of society will always be diversified. But there is no need of Alpine scenery, of wealth piled mountain high, with sunless and barren ravines in the chasms. In this case, the summits will be barren also; for of overgrown estates, an inordinately large proportion is invested or expended unproductively, as in the immense pleasure-grounds, the splendid palaces, and the ancestral plate of the English nobility. Far better is it, that hill and valley should alike lie under the warm sunlight, and wave with harvest wealth.

We can now perceive, that the laborer is most likely to be underpaid when he is overworked. If he toil unremittingly, and have no time for recreation, for home enjoyment, or for the culture of his higher nature, his wants will be few and cheap, his perception of his own rights will be vague, his ability to claim and defend them will be feeble, and his compensation, therefore, will be adjusted by the lowest standard of necessity. But so far as, by personal decency, intelligence, and sobriety, he approaches the level of his employer, his visible and admitted needs are enhanced, his rightful claim to a generous remuneration is recognized, and his wages approximate more nearly to his due proportion of the value that he creates. The working of this principle has been attested by the establishment of the "ten hour system" in many departments of mechanical industry. This system met with strong opposition in the outset; but it was urged by precisely those classes of mechanics whose avocations demanded sufficient skill to render them intelligent and respectable citizens, competent to confront their employers on equal terms. Wages have not fallen in consequence of this change, but have rather risen; for greater leisure has placed mechanics of these classes in a more advantageous position, has increased their needs and their demands, and has constrained the reluctant assent of employers to their claims. There was, indeed, when this system was in its infancy, a feeling of injustice on the part of employers; but this feeling has prescription, not definable right, for its basis, and subsides as the prescription fades from remembrance.

But there are many departments of labor, in which the available hours of the day, or the strength of the laborer, constitute the only limit of toil. In manufactures, which demand a large amount of fixed capital in buildings and machinery, it is deemed expedient, with little regard to the state of the market, to drive operations to the utmost limit of human endurance. There are seasons when the farm-laborer in New England must perform double the task of a Southern slave, and is prevented from sinking under excess of toil only by the salubrity of his workshop. In our cities, and yet more in all the great capitals of Europe, there are mechanical trades in which the journeymen must even abbreviate their hours of sleep, if they would keep soul and body together. The severest case of all is that of needlewomen, both in America and Europe, who must often toil eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, to win a momentary standing-ground on the foot-wide isthmus between starvation and prostitution. When we take these and similar conditions of life into view, we cannot but acknowledge that there is some show of reason and justice in the war-cry of the French proletaries for "the Emancipation of Labor."

But can labor be emancipated? Do not the necessities of subsistence, and the demands of increasing wealth and luxury, require for their supply the incessant toil of an overwhelming majority of the civilized world? Can any considerable abatement take place in the amount of manual industry as compared with population, without a decline in the arts, comforts, and refinements of social and domestic life?

We would first answer, that, if we suppose the amount of labor undiminished, still a large accession to the laboring classes is not only possible, but, in a better future, probable; and that thus, if in no other way, individual burdens may be lightened and more abundant leisure secured. Multitudes of people, who, by capacity and education fairly belong to the ranks of productive industry, now forsake them, or are forced out of them. The learned professions, (would that they could be so called otherwise than by courtesy,) are over-crowded with technically-qualified members, together with a still more numerous rear-guard of itinerants, pettifoggers, and quacks, who create a large proportion of the business on which those

of the several regular faculties depend for their subsistence. In commerce, the number of stages through which commodities pass from the producer to the consumer, is needlessly multiplied, and those who hinder, are hardly less numerous than those who expedite, their transfer. Hundreds of young men are every year pressing into mercantile life, without talent or education for business, or even standing-room in the crowd of competitors, whose destiny is to flounder through successive failures to an idle and beggarly old age. Of supernumeraries in the nominal service of the government, of office-seekers lazily waiting for the flow, and of ex-officials stranded by the ebb, of public patronage, the name is Legion. We have before us a list of *twenty-two* officers of various kinds, attached to a custom-house at which the average collection of revenue is less than ten thousand dollars per annum; and of these persons, no less than *fourteen* have been industrious mechanics, but will never be so again. The standing armies of the old world are confessedly of use only as a check upon each other; and their general disbanding would leave the political relations of the sovereignties of Europe only the more secure, while several millions of unproductive consumers would in that case become producers. Moreover, in a thoroughly Christianized state of society, (and we are now dealing with possibilities, not alone with such expectations as may be speedily realized,) the military and naval armaments now regarded as essential to a peace establishment would be superseded, and their forces would be thrown into the various departments of manual industry. To all these descriptions of persons, we must add full as large a number for those who are disabled by destructive vices, and for those who gain a livelihood by the various forms of immoral agency. Now, all these classes are sustained by the revenue of capital and the earnings of industry, so that the joint income of capital and labor would be no more heavily taxed to support them as producers, than it is to feed and clothe them as non-producers. But if all worked who might work and ought to work, and if the needs of subsistence, comfort, and luxury remained unchanged, the amount of labor performed by the individual would be essentially diminished, while society could afford the same average amount of wages to the increased number of producers, which is now paid to producers and non-producers.

We would, in the next place, remind our readers of the vast amount of needless and wasteful production. We say nothing of commodities of taste and of legitimate luxury; for they are the natural and fitting growth of civilization, and the philanthropist can only desire that they should be multiplied by inventive genius, and more and more generally diffused by summary and cheap processes of manufacture. We will only specify, under this head, the single item of spirituous liquors. Within our memory, it has been estimated, that at least half of the sugar and grain crops of the world finds its way to market in this form; and it would be a large estimate were we to allow a tenth part of the product of this manufacture for medical and mechanical uses, or a fifth part for what, by the most liberal construction, might be termed its temperate consumption.

But, notwithstanding the large force needlessly abstracted from the ranks of productive industry, and the great amount of worse than useless production, the hand-labor of Christendom, when in full employ, at no very distant intervals gluts every market, and heaps up vast quantities of unsalable goods on the shelves of dealers. When this takes place, prices become ruinously low, and by forced sales a stimulus is given to needless purchase and wasteful consumption. Meanwhile factories suspend their operations, breadstuffs remote from a market are left to rot on the farmer's hands, laborers are thrown out of employment by the thousand, and the general industry suffers a paralysis, till the supply on hand is worked off, and a fresh demand raises prices and stimulates enterprise anew. All this indicates that there is more work done than man needs to have done. If, when men work twelve or fourteen hours a day, a large proportion of the laborers must remain idle one year out of every four or five, in order that the supply of commodities may not utterly outstrip the demand, the same result could be more healthfully produced by their working but eight, nine, or ten hours a day, and receiving constant employment.

The general reduction of the hours of labor is a result which must soon grow from motives of true economy and financial expediency. It cannot be hastened by agitation and factious combinations, which only excite angry and contemptuous resistance, and array public opinion on the wrong

side. But with the diffusion of sound maxims of policy and an enlarged perception of reciprocal rights and obligations, this desired consummation must needs be gradually realized. The disastrous system of overworking and over-production must be permanently set aside; and the hours and amount of regular labor must be so adjusted as to supersede these spasms of consuming toil and these intervals of hungry idleness, which now alternate in the industrial history of the civilized world. We have seen reason to believe that it is a law of the Divine Providence, that much less than the incessant toil of the laboring classes will supply all that man needs for sustenance, comfort, and luxury. Providence has therefore indicated for the laborer ample season for relaxation and improvement. In a state of society conformed to its essential laws, no day could pass for any member of the community in exhausting labor; but every day would have its hours for repose, for domestic enjoyment, for the culture of the mental powers, for the indulgence of refined tastes and pure affections. Thus, by the universal diffusion of the elevating influences which follow in the train of leisure and prosperity, the artificial distinctions of society would lose their basis, and would gradually fall away. All occupations would become, in a certain sense, liberal professions. The man in every case would raise his calling, and reflect honor upon it. All the menial offices of society would be discharged, without degrading associations being attached to them; for those who performed the humblest functions, instead of being, as now, wholly merged in and identified with their callings, would have an intellectual, social, and moral existence entirely independent of them.

By what means may this "future of labor" be accelerated? Among these means, the institutions of popular education take the precedence. We have spoken of the growing competition of our immigrant with our home-born laborers. The only way of checking the disastrous consequences of this competition is to force education on the children of immigrants, and thus to create in them the artificial wants and the elevated standard of comfort which are inseparably connected with intelligence. We are not unaware of the increasing difficulty of satisfying the demands of our foreign population in this regard. The dread of Protestant influence threatens

to alienate the whole body of Romanists from our common school system; and it has been openly announced by some of the officials of the Romish church, that they prefer the utter ignorance of the people under their charge to the instruction of heretics and the contamination of heretical books. It is a perplexing question, how far concessions may be safely made to the genius of a church, which has done its utmost to demonstrate that "Ignorance is the mother of Devotion," and which can always evade its promises on the plea that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." As a Christian people, we cannot without gross impiety exclude the Scriptures from our schools, though many doubt whether there can be any valid objection to the substitution of the Douay Bible for our Common Version, where the Romish element preponderates in a class or school. Beyond this, the expurgation of our reading-books, histories, and other manuals of education, of all that bears traces of Protestantism, is an absurd demand and an impossible achievement.

It has, indeed, been strongly urged, (and the claim has unfortunately been sustained by not a few tide-waiters upon popular favor, among our native politicians,) that the education of the children of Romanists be wholly yielded up to the functionaries of their own church, or to school agents selected from their own body. Such an arrangement would be in express violation of the letter of some, and of the spirit of all, our State constitutions, which secure equal rights to the various denominations of Christians, and preclude the preference of one over another, in point of privilege or immunity. The Episcopalians, Quakers, or Universalists might, on precisely analogous grounds, claim the control of their respective portions of the public education funds; for they might easily establish as plausible a case of grievance in their denominational sympathies as the Romanists plead. All that any sect can claim, with a shadow of justice, is, that its members shall be candidates, on the same footing with all other qualified persons, for offices of trust, discipline, and government, in connection with our public schools. But, even were it right, we should not deem it safe to commit the public instruction of our youth directly or indirectly to the functionaries of the Romish church. They are, with few exceptions, men of foreign origin, attachments, and *quasi*

allegiance. Of our whole people, they are the least American, and the least capable of becoming reliably naturalized. It can hardly be doubted, that a system of education conducted under their sole auspices would tend to perpetuate international jealousies and animosities, to make our immigrant population an *imperium in imperio*, and to clog the process of healthful absorption and assimilation, by which our body politic converts foreign and heterogeneous elements into its own substance.

In some portions of our country, large sections of the imported laboring population retain and transmit to their children "the tongue in which they were born," and thus forfeit for them the benefit to be derived from public education, and train them in a condition of ignorance and stupidity, which degrades labor, enhances its burdens, and cuts short its recompense. This blind attachment to the ancestral language is especially characteristic of the Germans. In the city of Cincinnati, a successful attempt has been made at once to humor and to neutralize this prejudice. In every public school-house there are both German and English schools, and the German children have the privilege of instruction in their own language every other week, on condition of their spending the alternate week in an English school. In this way, thousands of children, who would otherwise be left in brutish ignorance, are trained to become citizens worthy of the name, and to dignify and liberalize the very forms of manual industry, which they would otherwise depress, both for themselves and for their competitors of Anglo-Saxon descent.

Next to the children of foreigners, our manufacturing population, present and future, claims special regard in connection with our educational institutions. The minute subdivision of labor has a direct tendency to dwarf the intellect. A man is less of a man in intelligence, skill, range of ideas, and scope of activity, when he makes a twentieth part of a pin, than if he made the whole pin, — when he merely watches a spindle or mends a web, than if he took the wool or cotton home, and brought the finished cloth to market. Improvements in machinery tend to make the operative less and less an intelligent agent, and more and more a machine, in which last capacity he will be fed and clothed at the cheapest rate

at which he can be kept in working order. To this beggarly standard are many classes of the operatives in the British islands reduced; whereas, when corresponding descriptions of manufacture were performed without the agency of steam or water power, the manufacturers earned a generous subsistence. In this country, factory operatives are, at present, well paid; and they are so, because they have not yet become a distinct and permanent class, but are constantly reinforced from the intelligent and self-respecting families of our yeomanry. But this can hardly be the case twenty years hence. They will become a separate estate in the community. Children will follow their parents into the mills, and will grow up with such an amount of culture as can be acquired in early childhood, or in the intervals of toil. If driven in the incessant round of labor, from day-dawn till nightfall, they must rapidly degenerate in intelligence, taste, and character, and must become a race of mere drudges and serfs. To obviate this tendency, the schoolmaster's certificate ought to be an indispensable credential for the admission of the juvenile operative. There should be an age, beneath which no child should be furnished with employment. There should be libraries, public lectures, and evening schools, freely open to the operatives, at the slight cost which might be necessary to render such privileges an object of desire. Philanthropy should devise and employ every possible means of stimulating minds wearied and jaded by the monotony of the noisy routine within the factory walls. There should be the most jealous watchfulness for the moral purity of each separate community of laborers, and the prompt excision of all whose example or influence might prove contaminating. It is the pride of our New England manufactories, that these principles were recognized in their very infancy. Their founders were men, whose Christian benevolence and foresight transcended even their financial skill and industrial enterprise. Never was there devised a more thorough system of mental culture, moral guardianship, and religious influence, than in connection with the earliest manufactories in Waltham and Lowell. At the former place, under the patronage of the manufacturing company, the modern system of popular lectures had its birth, and the Rumford Institute of Waltham was the first Lyceum on this continent. Wherever the con-

trol of similar corporations has passed into the hands of those same capitalists, their associates or successors, a similar liberality has been exercised; and numerous have been the instances, when, during years in which the machinery has been run at a loss, generous contributions have been made from the treasury, for the increase of libraries, the maintenance of lectures, the erection of churches, and the support of religious teachers. Let this policy be persevered in, and our manufacturing cities and villages will still be, as they have been, the glory of our land, and patterns for the whole civilized world, and will contribute largely toward the ultimate "emancipation of labor" from whatever can degrade it in the estimation of the community, or can render it crushingly burdensome to those whose destiny it is to eat their bread by the sweat of their brows.

We have expressed our belief, that labor will ultimately vindicate its right to ample leisure and full remuneration. Meanwhile it enjoys, in the weekly Sabbath, a season of repose and improvement, the sacred observance and appropriate use of which will be among the surest means of securing for it larger immunities and more extended privileges. The law of the Sabbath is a law, not alone of revelation, but of nature. The institution may be desecrated, may be deformed; but can be abrogated by no power short of that which gave it birth. It stands written by the Creator's hand on the sinews of man and beast, and on the inanimate agents and instruments of labor, as legibly as it was inscribed by the same hand on the tablet which Moses brought down from the mountain. Man's strength will not bear a perpetual strain. That periodical relief was afforded by primeval revelation, we have other proof, than that furnished by the Hebrew Scriptures. The division of time into weeks, and sacred associations with the number seven, may be traced back to the earliest ages, not only among the Arabs, (offshoots, indeed, from the Hebrew stock, but separated from it four or five centuries before the promulgation of the Decalogue,) not only among the Assyrians, Hindoos, and Persians, whose antiquity is sufficient to render their traditions very probably primeval, but also among the Egyptians, a nation flourishing in power, art, and learning, long before the birth of Abraham, and the mother of civilization for the whole

ancient world. A recent writer in the Westminster Review lays great stress on the fact, that no traces of the week or the Sabbath can be found among the nations of the Mongolian race, or among the nearly allied races of America, the extinct or the living; and argues that, if the septenary division of time had ever been universal, it must have left some vestiges of itself among those nations. Not necessarily, we would reply, when we consider the paucity of literary remains among those nations, and the narrow extent to which the investigation of their antiquities has been carried. Had Homer and Hesiod been lost, there would be no traces of the Sabbath in Greek literature; but the reference of both these poets to the sacredness of the seventh day renders it certain, that the Greeks brought with them from the East the septenary institutions and habits common to the Oriental nations, and that they were obliterated by subsequent political arrangements that led to a different division of time, — all which may have been the case with the Mongolian and American races. The primeval and divine origin of the Sabbath becomes the more probable, when we consider that it is not a natural division of time, but that it is precisely adapted to confuse and derange the month, — the most obvious natural division longer than a day. The epochs of the new and the full moon were prominently marked by all ancient nations. The average length of the month is *twenty-nine days and a half*, so that each successive festival of the new or the full moon must have recurred later in the week than the preceding, — a fact which shows that the week is much more likely to have been an arrangement of positive institution, than an awkward attempt to divide the month by a divisor which leaves, with regard to the month, an annoying and embarrassing remainder.

But we have been drawn aside from the main purpose, for which we made mention of sabbatical institutions. Our intention was not to argue for their antiquity, but to illustrate their necessity, — to show how utterly impossible it is to exact perpetual toil, and how entirely secure labor may be of sufficient leisure, (if rightly used,) to elevate the laborer to a position in which he can demand his daily, no less than his weekly Sabbath. Where the septenary division of time has not been adopted, the service fulfilled by the Sabbath

has been awkwardly and imperfectly rendered by saturnalia, festivals, and public games, — occasions of universal relaxation and license, in which the lowest menials were not excluded from their share. The very brutes, that work for man, need their Sabbath; and the extension of its immunities to them in the Decalogue, in an age when neither humanity nor far-sighted selfishness could have had much place in their treatment, is one of the many internal evidences, that that simplest and sublimest compend of practical ethics emanated from the careful providence of Him who "despises nothing that he has made." Before stage-coaches became subjects of history, there was found to be a most wasteful difference, in the persistency of animal strength, against those lines in which "Sunday shone no Sabbath day," and in favor of those on which coaches ran but six days in seven. Chateaubriand says, that when, in France, the decade was substituted for the week, in many of the agricultural districts, after a short trial, the tenth day festival was dropped, and the rest of the seventh day resumed, in deference to the superior religious wisdom of the cattle, who knew the Sabbath, and would have it.

Even the inanimate agents of human industry, the fixtures of steam and water power, and the strongest and best adjusted machinery, need periodical rest and refitting hardly less than the limbs and sinews of the operative; and, though we cannot deem the cleansing of boilers and the repairing of watercourses among the sabbatical occupations peculiarly conducive to the religious welfare of a manufacturing village or city, yet the notorious fact that Sunday is thus employed, often from midnight to midnight, shows that cupidity, driven to desperation, can never obliterate the Sabbath.

A seventh part of his time is thus insured for the laborer's own disposal; and the question is, How may it best be put at interest, with the promise of certain increase? On this subject we have no ascetic notions. Where the body is exhausted by excessive toil, or enervated by close air, or cramped by unnatural postures, rest and recreation are both rights and duties of the Sabbath. However severe theologians may regard the prolonged sleep or inaction of the Sabbath morning, or the free enjoyment of the outward world, for which the working days furnish no opportunity,

we feel assured that he who made the Sabbath for man has appointed these among its uses; and those who think otherwise are sacredly bound to secure other breathing-spells for the toil-driven. But this concession need not impair the consecration of the hallowed hours to nobler purposes. The most laborious will find their repose none the less sweet, for the interlude of heavenly harmonies; their home hours none the less pure and happy, because pervaded by higher themes of thought; their communion with nature none the less refreshing and invigorating to the body, for the devout and grateful recognition of Him, whose smile glows in the sunlight, plays among the trees, and gleams from the waters. While the body rests, the mind may be awake and active, and the heart may be open to the most genial influences and the loftiest communings. The most effectual repose is found in the change of occupation, in the diversion of the thoughts to other channels, in the vigorous exercise of a new class of faculties, in the transfer of activity from the weary body to the untasked mind and unjaded affections. Toilsome recreation, active sports, convivial dissipation, on the other hand, wear upon the bodily powers already exhausted by the six days' labor, and leave the higher nature dormant still. And it is these latter uses or abuses of the day of rest, that make employers grudge the laborers' Sabbaths, and spurn all thought of superfluous holidays. But let it be shown that the weekly rest is time not wasted for industrial, but saved for intellectual and moral, uses, and let the laborer, by means of it, ascend continually nearer the elevated standard of character which this institution is adapted to create, then will he be able to claim, with authority, and to receive, as his manifest right, the full amount of daily leisure requisite for bodily comfort, mental culture, and moral progress.

Believing this, we read the article in the Westminster Review already referred to, not only with dissent and displeasure, but with positive indignation. It was not wholly a severe argument addressed to the learned, but in part an inflammatory appeal to the revolutionary forces of society. It assumed that even the repose of the Sabbath was needless loss of wages to the laborer and of work to the whole community, and that the hedging it in with religious restraints was immeasurably oppressive to the laboring classes. We

have shown, as we think conclusively, that the sabbatical institution, so far from savoring of kingcraft or of priestcraft, is the palladium of the rights of labor, and that the casting off of its restraints is not a measure of emancipation, but a retrograde movement towards slavery.

Our next specific, (and the last which it falls within our present scope to name,) for the elevation of labor, lies wholly under the control of the laboring classes. It is respect for their callings, and for themselves in those callings. They are, in a great measure, chargeable with whatever of disrespect or non-respect is attached to the various departments of manual industry. Every avocation that contributes to the general comfort and welfare is worthy of honor, in proportion to the diligence and faithfulness of those who fill it. But hand-laborers of all descriptions seem to act on the opposite theory. They almost uniformly desert their callings, when they can. Many of them enter those lower walks of commerce, in which neither an extensive capital nor a business education is essential. And in doing so, they sink much more in actual respectability than they rise in their own esteem. When we see an able-bodied man standing from morning to night behind a counter, with a few handfuls of confectionery, a little decayed fruit, and ten or twenty dollars' worth of groceries, his whole stock in trade not worth a month's purchase of his bone and muscle, we feel that he has fallen from his place as a vital member of the body politic to one of paltry insignificance. Yet stronger is this feeling with reference to those who forsake useful labor for petty government offices, to be borne at uncertain intervals, and with every change of administration to cast out their incumbents to idleness and starvation. Equally unfortunate in its tendency is the frequent reluctance of laborers and mechanics to educate their children in their own callings. If, through any form of patronage, or by the help of their own little savings, they can establish their sons within the outposts of the mercantile profession, they prefer for them the vague and doubtful prospect of success, and the imminent risk of utter failure, to the certainty of an honorable subsistence by the labor of their own hands. Now this state of things needs to be reversed. Laboring people must learn to regard themselves as honored by the very capacity of toil, and worthy to be honored for their actual services to a community which can in nowise dispense

with their aid. They must remain in their callings, where success, enhanced skill, and a well-won reputation will insure respect for them more effectually in their present, than in an altered, position. They must attest their respect for their avocations by training their children to succeed them. Thus will the laboring classes exert over the rest of the community the weight of influence represented by their most experienced and intelligent members, and will realize more speedily and with greater certainty the rights which will be slowly and grudgingly conceded to those who despise their own callings, and desert them whenever they can.

It is perhaps asked — Is this all that is implied in the "emancipation of labor?" What is implied by this phrase in the Utopia of red republicanism, we know not; and probably the French agitators know as little. But this is all that can ever take place. Labor there must always be, and it must, for the most part, be performed by professional laborers. The requisite strength and skill can be acquired for each separate department only by making it a distinct avocation. To blend manual labor with the intellectual professions is to degrade both, by making the former awkward and imperfect, the latter superficial and ignorant. There is no hardship in manual industry beyond that endured in every occupation, into which man enters with a wakeful mind and a strong heart. The man, who hews our wood and digs our garden, has fewer periods of depressing weariness and many more hours of repose, than accrue to us in a profession, which crowds the mind with severe thought, the heart with sympathies almost daily lacerated, the conscience with responsibilities which never relax their pressure. He has as little reason to covet a share of our labor, as we have ability to discharge a portion of his labor. There must be, to the end of time, smiths, builders, ploughmen, burden-bearers; and they must always labor enough to make their fair dividend of their earnings adequate to their comfortable support. The most that time and the progress of society can do for them, is to reduce the amount of their labor to the actual needs of the community, and to elevate its compensation to the standard of its true value. Whenever this is done, they will have ample means of bodily comfort and enjoyment, and ample leisure to do and to become all that it is their duty to do and their interest to be.

Art. VIII. — 1. *The Claims of Labour. An Essay on the Duties of the Employers to the Employed.* The second Edition. To which is added, *An Essay on the Means of Improving the Health and Increasing the Comfort of the Labouring Classes.* London: William Pickering. 1845. 8vo. pp. 288.

2. *The Habitations of the Industrial Classes: their Physical, Social, and Moral Influence.* By Hector Gavin, M. D., F. R. C. S. E. Published by Request, and sold for the Benefit of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes. London. 1851. 8vo. pp. 95.

3. *The Dwellings of the Labouring Classes, their Arrangement and Construction. . . .* An Essay read January 21, 1850, at the Royal Institute of British Architects. With Plans and Elevations. By Henry Roberts, F. S. A., &c. London. 1850. 8vo. pp. 47.

4. *The Labourer's Friend.* July, 1851. No. LXXXVI. New Series. Price 6d. 8vo. pp. 31.

5. *The Philosophy of Ragged Schools.* London: William Pickering. 1851. 8vo. pp. 128.

The most distinguishing characteristic of the literature of the present age is the attention which it bestows to that portion of society which is generally called "the lower classes." No one, comparing the literature of even fifty years ago with that of to-day, can fail to notice the great difference in this respect. A kindlier, more generous spirit, a deeper, more earnest feeling, have begun to be manifested. The relations between man and man are now more fully recognized, the common ties of human sympathy binding together the highest and the lowest are now more readily acknowledged, the rights of the ignorant and the suffering are now more warmly asserted, and the duties of all classes towards each other are now more strongly urged. From the folio report to the novel, the essay, and the poem, the claims of labor and the laborer are set forth with various power, but with a single object. It is an animating sight to see the leaders of opinion, and the masters of the thought of the world, each in his own way, and with his own best arms, engaged in this struggle

against the evils and unhappiness of earth. It is the visible sign of the influence of the spirit of Christianity, and the progress of Christian principles.

While so many of the foundations upon which men have built their hopes for the advance of the world are crumbling away, the existence of this spirit in literature affords a ground of encouragement which cannot be shaken. But it is, as it were, only the dawning of the day, not the full light of morning. The wisdom and the truth which is contained in these books must be turned by other hands into practical action. The books will have been written in vain, the deepest, most earnest thoughts will be worthless, unless we who read them, and are stirred by their power, contrive to gain from them the inducement and the method of personal exertion. There is no one of us who is without ability to do something for those beneath him in the world; and there is no one who, if he neglects this little something, is able to furnish any better plea than that of selfishness; for the excuse of ignorance will not avail.

The books whose titles stand at the head of this article, are illustrations of the amount and character of the thought which is now given to lessening the inequalities in the condition of men. But it is not as literary productions that they claim our attention. It is on account of the suggestions which they contain in regard to what may be done to raise the condition and character of the poor, that they chiefly deserve our interest. In America, at this time, any such suggestions are of great, almost preëminent importance. The lower classes here, as in the old world, are the *dangerous classes*. The danger from them may differ in amount and in development, but it is the same in character. The very blessings of peace and prosperity which we have enjoyed to an unexampled degree, have served even to increase it. They have led us to look at the established order of things as so fixed and stable as hardly to be separated from the course of nature. But this is no time for such a delusion. Even now, there is fear lest the sea of ignorance which lies around us, swollen by the wave of misery and vice which is pouring from revolutionized Europe upon our shores, should overflow the dikes of liberty and justice, and sweep away the most precious of our institutions.

The relief of the misery of the poor is the object to which our most earnest efforts should be given. As disciples of Christ, as lovers of our country, as men, we cannot refuse them. And in order that they may be effectual, in order to avoid a perpetual round of increasing evils and unavailing remedies, we must begin at the very foundation; we must labor to prevent. The prevention of pauperism is the end to be sought for. And it is a fact which rests not more firmly upon moral grounds than upon those of a true social economy, that to prevent pauperism at any cost is better for a community than the care of it after it exists. As men are not always to be addressed through the highest feelings, as religion and justice are often less powerful over their hearts than habit and selfishness, it is fortunate that it can easily be proved, that, besides the injury that is done to God's work, man, by allowing him to become a pauper, there is also an injury to the community which may be reckoned in money. It could also be shown, by taking the result of a series of years, that, whatever might be the sum expended in preventing pauperism, the amount would be more than returned to the community in the services which it had created.

It is not, indeed, to be disguised, that, as society is at present organized, with unjust inequalities on every side, and yet with no remedy obvious, it is utterly impossible to hope to *extinguish* pauperism. Poverty is one of God's dealings with men, and manifestly one which contains the seed of many blessings; and while poverty exists as God's dispensation, pauperism may follow as the result of men's arrangements. But because, in the present imperfect state of social institutions, we cannot look to preventing it altogether, there is the stronger reason for doing the much that may be done to diminish it. So much, indeed, is to be done, that often we may feel the feebleness of our means, and be ready to take counsel of despair as to the hopelessness of our efforts. But the greatness of the work is to serve not for a discouragement, but for an incitement. As has been well said, "A difficulty is a thing to be overcome." Delay will not increase our strength, and every day's delay but makes the toil more hard. Our little performance is to be measured, not by what might be done, but by what we could do; and though, with all our effort, but one stone be lifted from

the road, that one is cleared from the path of the next comer.

From these general reflections, let us come to the consideration of some of the special provisions which are to be adopted in furtherance of this great end. Recognizing that something must be done, let us see what may be best effected; and feeling the smallness of our means in comparison with the need, let us examine how to apply them to the greatest advantage. We must begin by putting out of our heads all desire for originality, all half-formed expectations of serving our own vanity or worldliness under the cloak of benevolence. We must be prepared to follow in straight and trodden paths. We are to deal with society as it exists, and we must dismiss all fancies, however alluring. We may hope for the regeneration of society; we must secure its improvement.

In the very front rank of the practical measures for the prevention of pauperism stands the improvement of the dwellings of the poor. It is upon this that all other measures for the same end must in great part depend for their success. The subject has excited comparatively little attention in this country, but it would be difficult to place its importance too high. The character of a population depends upon the nature of its habitations. "I have studied," says M. Blanqui, whose authority is not to be questioned, "I have studied with a religious anxiety the domestic life of a large number of the work people, and I am bold to affirm, that the unhealthiness and wretched condition of their dwellings is the primary source of all the misery, of all the vices, of all the calamities of their social existence. There is no reform whatsoever that so highly deserves the attention and devotion of the friends of humanity. It is by that they must begin. Other improvements will flow from that as a natural source — without it, all others will be useless and inefficient. The moral character of a working family is almost without exception to be guaged by the character of their dwelling." *

Virtue and vice are as dependent upon physical conditions as health or disease. There is a fixed relation between comfort and morality, and there is a terrible positive connection

* Quoted by Dr. Gavin, in his "Habitations of the Industrial Classes," p. 72.

between physical and spiritual degradation. When one accustomed to all the comforts and luxuries of easy life enters into one of the low, disgusting haunts of poverty, he feels how little of what is best in him could long withstand the assaults of misery; he learns for how much he has to thank God, and he acknowledges that his blessings are but the measure of his responsibilities. No imaginary picture can be drawn equal in horror to the realities which the dwellings of the poor present. The details are in all places the same. The accounts of foreign cities, which we have shuddered at when reading them, are reproduced, with little alleviation, in life in our own. In houses built upon close alleys, where the sun never shines, and where the stagnant air is filled with exhalations from accumulated filth; in cellars dark, wet, rotting, stifling, — are the homes of men, of our fellow-men. Dirt and uncleanness pervade every thing; there are no accommodations for the decencies of life; a huddled crowd of men, women, and children herd together like brutes. The very ideas of neatness, of prudence, of sobriety, of chastity, of self-respect, are lost. The passions are early roused, and are subjected to no restraint. Misery seeks a short forgetfulness of itself in the gratification of sensual desires. The affections are stunted; the natural instincts become the guides of life. And in the hearts of our cities swollen with prosperity, within sound of our boasts of progress and songs of happiness, exists a people more brutal than the savages whom civilization has never approached.*

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* In a "Report of the Committee on Internal Health," made to the City Government of Boston in 1849, in speaking of the "wretched, dirty, and unhealthy condition of a great number of the dwelling-houses occupied by the Irish population," it is said, "These houses, for the most part, are not occupied by a single family, or even by two or three families; but each room, from garret to cellar, is filled with a family consisting of several persons, and sometimes with two or more families. The consequence is an excessive population wholly disproportioned to the space or the accommodations.

". . . In such a state of things there can be no cleanliness, privacy, or proper ventilation. . . . In Broad street and all the surrounding neighborhood . . . the situation of the Irish in these respects is particularly wretched. During their visits last summer, your committee were witnesses of scenes too painful to be forgotten, and too disgusting to be related here. It is sufficient to say, that this whole district is a perfect hive of human beings, without comforts, and mostly without common necessaries. . . .

"The houses above alluded to are also insufficiently provided with the necessary in and out-of-door conveniences which are required in every dwelling-place. The great mass of them, particularly in the region last referred to, have but one sink opening into a contracted and ill-constructed drain, or, as is frequently the case, into a passage-way or street, and but one privy, usually a mass of pollution, for

The means of remedying this state of things do not lie, as some might assert, with the poor themselves. They could not, if they would, help themselves. "The poor," says Dr. Southwood Smith, "can by no prudence or foresight on their part avoid the dreadful evils to which they are exposed." The circumstances that surround them inevitably produce sickness, improvidence, and recklessness. The long exposure to a poisoned atmosphere gradually destroys the spring and elasticity of life. Fever wastes the strength of body and of spirit; and at last, the very impulse and hope of improvement die out.

The remedy for these evils must come from others than the immediate sufferers. It must come from the action of the public authorities, and from the efforts of benevolent societies and of private individuals.

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all the inhabitants, sometimes amounting to a hundred. Some of them have neither drain nor privy."

In Half Moon Place, "The houses are built around an area from which air is almost totally excluded by the perpendicular wall of Fort Hill on one side, and the high houses of Broad Street on the other. A large part of the area is occupied by some twelve or fourteen privies constantly overflowing, and by ill-constructed and worn-out sinks and drains, into which are hourly thrown solid substances, which choke them up and cause the liquid parts mixed with them to run over." — *Boston City Document*, No. 66, December, 1849, pp. 12–14.

The City Physician's Report, accompanying that of the Committee, contained details not less horrible. He says, "The plan which is given of a triple cellar would scarcely be believed to represent a reality by those unacquainted with some of these localities." . . . "The third, a dungeon six feet square, and the same in height, with no aperture for the admission of air, save the narrow door, which was closed at night, served to accommodate boarders. The landlord said the tide came through the floor of his rooms but rarely! . . . One cellar was reported by the police to be occupied nightly as a sleeping apartment, by thirty-nine persons. In another, the tide had risen so high that it was necessary to approach the bedside of a patient by means of a plank, which was laid from one stool to another; while the dead body of an infant was actually sailing about the room in its coffin." — pp. 172, 173.

In March, 1850, a census of the inhabited cellars in the City of New York was made by the Chief of Police. 8,141 cellars were found to be occupied by 18,456 persons, who had no other rooms. One twentieth of the population of the city lived under ground. The proportion is probably nearly the same in Boston. From the account of this census published in the New York Tribune, June 13th, 1850, we quote the following passages: — "The bed-rooms are still worse places. They are always in the rear, and very few of them have any opening except into the main room. Without air, without light, filled with damp vapor from the mildewed walls, and with vermin, they are the most repulsive holes that ever a human being was forced to sleep in." . . . "There are cellars devoted entirely to lodging, where straw at two cents, and bare floor at one cent a night can be had. . . . Black and white, men, women, and children, are mixed in one dirty mass. Scenes of depravity the most horrible are of constant occurrence."

We might fill our pages with more of these sickening details; but we have quoted enough to show the character and extent of misery which exists among the poor in our cities. For, let it not be forgotten, these accounts are of our own most flourishing, most Christian cities. What a frightful contrast is this misery to our refinements, our delicacies, and our luxuries!

Let us consider, first, the duties of the public authorities. The end of municipal government, as of every other government, is the promotion of the welfare of the people under its charge. The rights of all classes are equal before it, and its duties in relation to every individual are the same. Its interference in any private concerns is to be deprecated, when the interests of the individual and of society coincide; but when those interests differ, the government becomes unjust and partial, unless it interferes to bring them again into mutual harmony. In cases of such interference, however, there is often much private opposition, and much foolish talk about the danger of a government invading the rights of property. But this is a danger little to be feared, in comparison with that which comes from guarding the assumed and fancied rights of property too jealously. And, moreover, whatever be the rights of property, they weigh nothing against the rights of humanity. Nor is the interest of an individual to be set off against the interests of a community. Suppose a man were to erect an establishment, which should bring him in a rich return upon his outlay, but which, from some neglect on his part, should be the source of continual expense and suffering to all the neighbors; — no one would doubt that the government of the place ought to interfere to compel him to remedy the defect, — no government would hesitate to do it. Now this is a parallel case to that of the dwellings of the poor: Houses in all respects unfitted for their abode; the very living in which produces loss of money, of health, and of life to the occupants; and whose polluting vicinity is the cause of disease through the neighborhood, — such houses are let out by individuals as a source of large profits to themselves.

A case of murder by violence is at once investigated, and its perpetrator punished. Murder by slow torture is going on every day in houses in our own cities, and no one recks or interferes. This is no figure of speech. The tables of mortality prove it as a terrible fact. More than half the deaths which occur in these houses are from preventable causes. Who is to answer for this?*

* It was shown, in the *North American Review*, No. CLII., for July, 1851, that the mortality in the healthy district of Boston was not over 1.50 per cent., while in the unhealthy district it was 5.65 per cent. A most appalling difference.

It is not to be demanded of the government, that they should provide suitable homes for the poor; but it is to be demanded of them, that they should see to it that the houses occupied by the poor should be rendered compatible with health, decency, and morality. No violent or alarming measures are called for; no measures which would shift a burden from one class of the community upon another, are needed to carry this object into effect. A system of inspection and regulation of the dwellings of the poor should be organized under the municipal authorities, which should secure such alterations and improvements in them as should render them no longer abodes unfit for any human creature. Suitable means of ventilation and drainage, a proper supply of water, the arrangements necessary for health and decency, should be provided in every case. And, in addition to this, regulations in regard to the number of occupants in each building should be established and enforced. The proprietors of the estates should, whenever it was possible, be forced to make these arrangements at their own cost, — and in case of their refusal, or of any other difficulty, the estate itself should be held liable for the payment. Nor would it be a small benefit from this just exercise of authority, that the owners of the property thus improved would be taught that their own interests and those of their tenants are, to a certain extent, identical. There can be little doubt that the value of the property would be increased, in a majority of cases, proportionately to the outlay upon it. The selfishness of men is always short-sighted. Extortion always cheats itself.*

We can imagine but two objections which could be made to this plan, and neither of them is such as would be advanced by those who properly feel the importance of the matter, or appreciate the responsibilities which rest upon them in relation to it. They might both, consequently, be disregarded; but the answers to them are short and conclusive.

The first might be, that, to carry out such a system would involve considerable expense. There can be no doubt that

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* A plan similar to the above was strongly urged by the Committee on Internal Health, in the Report from which we have quoted. It is a disgrace to the city of Boston, that such a recommendation should have been so long unattended to.

this would be the case; but it should be remembered that this expense would result in a great saving. Diminish the misery of the homes of the poor, and crime is lessened, sickness is lessened, pauperism is lessened. The jails and the courts, the hospitals and the almshouses, would show the economy of the outlay. It is a grievous thing to have to answer, even in fancy, such objections as this; — as if money were worth more than justice — as if the riches of a people were to be reckoned by its hoarded heaps of gold. The plea of the expense of doing right will not be listened to at the bar of Heaven.

The other, and more suitable, objection to which we have referred, might be that such a system involved insurmountable difficulties, and that it would be impossible to carry it into execution. This is an argument to which every new plan of improvement is exposed. Fortunately it is without force in this case, for a measure similar to the one now proposed has been adopted in several cities on the continent of Europe, and has been attended with the most beneficial results. An account of a Report on this subject, of the College of Mayor and Sheriffs, to the Communal Council of Brussels, is given in a recent pamphlet by Dr. Gavin.

"By the revival of an old law, an inspection has been instituted of the sanitary condition of dwellings, which has been most minute in its applications, and most serviceable in its results.

"The tabular returns of the improvements effected, show that no part of a dwelling, or of the conveniences necessarily attached to a dwelling, have been disregarded; but that a wise and prudent humanity has stepped in to regulate the condition of all those structural arrangements which are comprehended in a healthful dwelling.

"It is most satisfactory to find in the report referred to, that, of 2,020 houses, of which 1,355 were in alleys, or *cul-de-sacs*, only sixteen houses, nine rooms, two garrets, a third floor, and a part of a house, have been interdicted as unfit for human habitations; while only five houses and a part of a house required to be demolished on account of their dilapidation and resulting danger.

"Two only of the proprietors to whom delay was accorded, in order to complete the required works, refused to do any thing; and only three properties required to be officially made fit for

habitation. Twelve interdictions were raised by the proprietors voluntarily effecting the required works.

"It is calculated from this statement, allowing a population of eleven to each house, that of 22,220 persons who were living in houses which required works of some kind to put them into a habitable condition, 21,957 derived the advantages contemplated by the law, and 263 were displaced from habitations incompatible with healthy existence, or manifestly unfit for human habitation." *

Having thus briefly considered what is to be done by the public authorities, it remains to be shown what may best be effected by benevolent associations. A preliminary and most important consideration in regard to this point is, that nothing should be undertaken by an association simply as a matter of gratuitous charity, or as an affair in which benefits are to be conferred without a corresponding return. The good ends of charity are most surely gained by avoiding all interference with the usual laws which govern men's dealings with each other. They will necessarily follow the exercise of justice and good judgment. But the charity which consists in, and is satisfied with gratuitously conferring apparent favors, is dangerous and deceitful. To establish a society on charitable grounds alone, would be injurious in two ways; it would excite unnecessary opposition on the part of those interested in preserving the existing state of things, and it would tend, (and it is most important to guard against this,) to diminish the self-reliance and self-respect of those receiving its aid.

The special objects which an Association for the improvement of the homes of the poor might hold in view, would be the directing of public attention to the pressing nature of the subject; the guiding of individual exertion to the same end, by the erection of buildings as models; the purchasing and altering, or destroying unfit dwellings; and the obtaining and letting out pieces of ground "to individual builders upon conditions compelling the desired structural arrangements." †

The experience of the "Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes" in London, is a guaranty of the beneficence of such undertakings. This society was

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* "The Habitations of the Industrial Classes," pp. 90, 91.

† See "*The Claims of Labour*," p. 234. This excellent book was written by the author of "*Friends in Council*," and "*Companions of my Solitude*." Like all his books, it is distinguished by generous feeling, wise and liberal thought, and grace of style.

founded in 1844, and has directed its chief attention to "the arranging and executing Plans as Models for the Improvement of the Dwellings of the Labouring Classes." The establishments now belonging to it in London are seven in number, and consist of houses variously fitted to accommodate men, women, and families. In the Seventh Annual Report of the Committee, presented in July, 1851, it is stated, — "1. That the whole of their buildings have been full for many months past. 2. That the rents continue to be paid with great regularity. 3. That the health of the inmates is excellent."* The Earl of Shaftesbury, (better known as Lord Ashley,) the Chairman, in an address to the Society, at their last annual meeting, said, —

"The return on the whole property is equal to about 4 per cent. on the land; and on the buildings, fittings, and furniture, of about 6½ per cent. Now, observe we have thereby proved what we undertook to prove, that in works of this kind we would carry into effect no eleemosynary principle, no mere matter of charity; we would make it an affair of business, instigated, it is true, and governed by a sound and solemn principle, but one that, between man and man, should be purely a matter of business."† . . . . . Now, really, I must impress upon this meeting, more and more, as the result of growing experience, the absolute and the indispensable necessity, if you wish to do permanent good to your people, and if you wish to enable them to do permanent good to themselves, to direct your unremitting attention to the condition of their dwellings."

In the words we have quoted, Lord Shaftesbury has stated clearly the principle upon which such works as these should rest. The Society has not attempted to lower the price, but to improve the quality of the dwellings; and, while providing the necessities and some of the comforts of life for its tenants, to receive in return from them a just percentage on its outlay. It has established proper relations between its tenants and itself, and it has shown the feasibility of such works, as affording a fair employment for capital. There exists no reason why the same results should not be obtained in this country. In 1846, the establishment of a Society for the

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* *The Labourer's Friend*, July, 1851, p. 106.

† "There is no private interest in the matter. By the charter which has been granted, whatever profits may accrue, must be directed to the extension of the system and the designs of the Society."

improvement of the dwellings of the poor was strongly urged in an excellent Report of a Committee in Boston, on the Expediency of providing better Tenements for the Poor. One of the conclusions arrived at in this Report was, "that property invested in well-constructed and well-situated houses, to be leased to the poorer classes of tenants by the apartment, and by the week, is as safe as any other real estate, excepting the very best, and far more so than the average." *

Another most striking and happy result from the works of the London Society, has been the general health of the occupants of their buildings, in comparison with that of the neighborhood. Mr. Grainger, an officer of the Board of Health, makes the following statement.

"'From the evidence I have received, it appears, that, in six out of seven of these establishments, including the Lodging Houses for Single Men, and containing about 957 persons, there has not been a single case of typhus since they were opened; whilst in the Metropolitan Buildings, which have been opened upwards of three years, and have an average population of 550, there has been but one death from low fever; so that, out of a total of 1,507 persons, one case only of typhus has occurred since these institutions were provided specially to test the value of sanitary arrangements. Now,' he adds, 'just look, for the sake of illustration, — if the 1,507 of the working population of the model buildings, several of which are situated in the most crowded and unhealthy parts of London, and where, as in Church Lane, fever prevails, be contrasted with the working population of Liverpool, about sixty cases of low fever ought to have occurred annually; and yet there is but one case from the beginning.'" *The Laborer's Friend, July*, 1851, p. 101.

The moral good effects resulting from these houses have been not less remarkable than the physical. It is hardly necessary to detail them here. The evidence is of the strongest character, and the testimony is invariable.

Such are the general results which have followed the workings of this Society; † results full of encouragement, and

* See *Report of the Committee*, p. 33.

† Other associations in England, and particularly the Metropolitan Association for the Improvement of the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, have engaged in the same work, and their efforts have been attended with the same success. In Paris, "*La Société des Cités Ouvrières*," has lately been established for the purpose of building improved Lodging Houses for the Poor. In this country, attempts have been made by benevolent individuals with the same design, but nothing has been done on a large scale.

amply sufficient to prove the advantage which would accompany the establishment of similar associations in our own cities. The details of the plan of work must vary in each locality according to its peculiar demands; but the same general principles must regulate every attempt to improve the condition of the poor in this respect, wherever made. Some of the more important principles of construction which have been adopted by the London Society, and which are of universal application, are given by Mr. Henry Roberts, the honorary architect of the Society, as follows.

"In reference to new buildings for the labouring classes, the most rigid economy of arrangement, consistent with accommodation sufficiently spacious to be convenient and healthy, and the utmost attention to cheapness of construction, consistent with durability and comfort, are essential elements of a really good and suitable plan. The architect should bear in mind, that the rents which the working classes usually pay, though exorbitantly high for the wretched accommodation afforded them, will only just yield a fair return for the outlay on buildings constructed for their express use, and fitted up with all the conveniences which it is desirable they should possess. Any expenditure on unnecessary accommodation, which involves an increase of rent beyond that usually paid by the occupants of such a class of dwellings, appears to be at least hazardous, and may jeopardize the whole or a portion of the interest to be fairly expected from the investment." — p. 17.

"The most humble abodes, whether in a town or in the country, in order to be healthy, must be dry and well ventilated; to secure the former, it is essential that due attention be given to the situation or locality, to the foundation and to the drainage, as well as to the materials of which the external walls and roof are constructed. To secure ventilation there must be a free circulation of air; a sufficient number and size of openings, and adequate height of the rooms, which I should fix at not less than seven feet six inches to eight feet; in town buildings I have allowed nine feet from floor to floor. The number and area of the apartments should be in proportion to the probable number of occupants; where intended for families there should, as a general rule, be not fewer than three sleeping apartments, each with a distinct and independent access; no other arrangement can secure a due separation of the sexes. The living room ought not to contain less than 140 feet to 150 feet superficial, and the parents' bed room should at least measure about 100 feet superficial. In the latter, as a provision for sickness, a fireplace is of

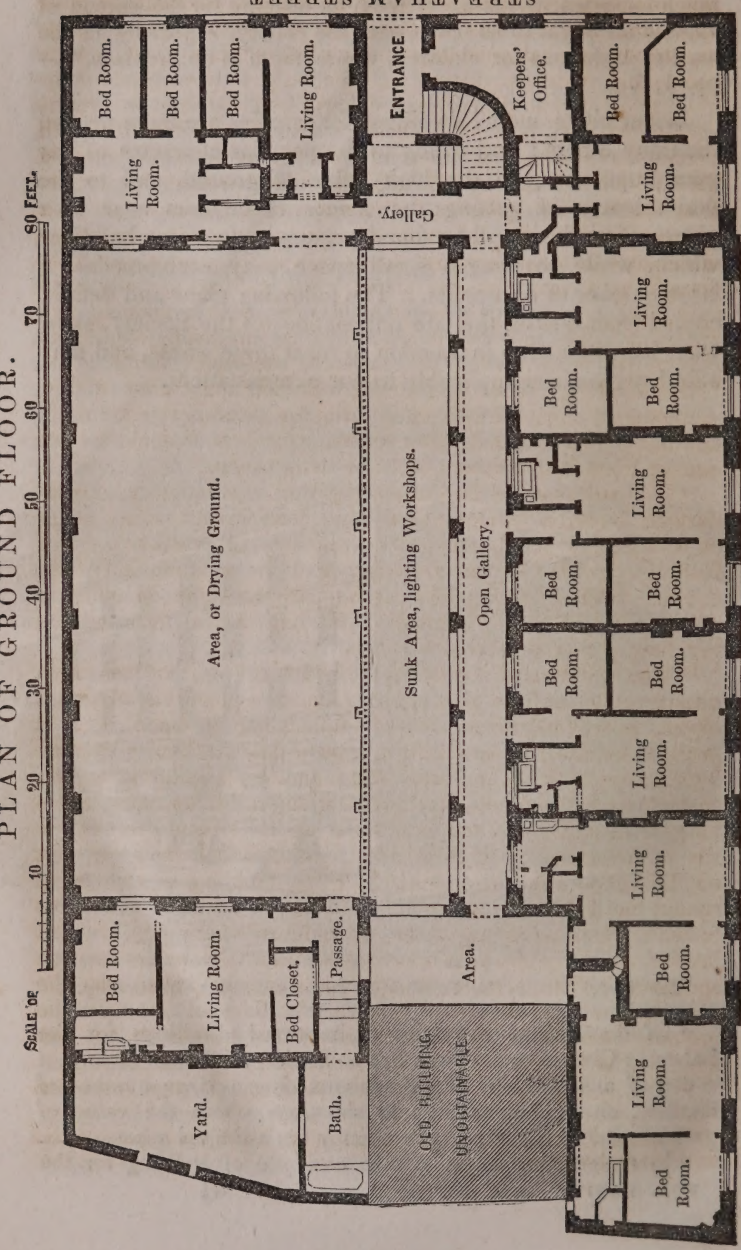
much importance. In every room an opening for the escape of vitiated air ought to be made near the ceiling, especially in the smaller bedrooms for children, where there is no fireplace." — pp. 4, 5.

In our cities, model dwellings for families are more needed than any others ; and owing to the peculiar character of our poor population, to the high value of ground, and to the desirableness of putting the homes of laborers near their places of work, it will be found necessary to erect buildings which, while covering a small space, may accommodate a large number of occupants. The following plans and details, copied from one of the late publications of the Society, show what has been done in London to meet these wants, and may afford suggestions applicable to our circumstances.

The Model Houses for Families in Streatham Street, Bloomsbury.

" Of the several examples of improved dwellings for the Laboring Classes undertaken by the Society, the most important is that of a Model Building to accommodate a large number of families, on a plan adapted to situations where the value of ground renders it necessary to occupy but a limited space. . . .

" In undertaking to provide in one pile of building for the


PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR.
SCALE OF
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 FEET.
STREATHAM STREET.
GEORGE STREET.
Bed Room.
Living Room.
Area, or Drying Ground.
Gallery.
ENTRANCE
Keepers' Office.
Stunk Area, lighting Workshops.
Open Gallery.
Area.
Yard.
Bath.
Bed Closet.
Passage.
OLD BUILDING UNOBTAINABLE

accommodation of a large number of families, amongst the most important considerations has been that of preserving the domestic privacy and independence of each distinct family, and so disconnecting their apartments as effectually to prevent the communication of contagious diseases; this, it will be seen on a reference to the plan, is accomplished by dispensing altogether with separate staircases, and other internal communications between the different stories, and by adopting one common open staircase leading into galleries or corridors, open on one side to a spacious quadrangle, and on the other side having the outer doors of the several tenements, the rooms of which are protected from draught by a small entrance lobby. The galleries are supported next the quadrangle by a series of arcades, each embracing two stories in height, and the slate floors of the intermediate galleries rest on iron beams, which also carry the enclosure railing. . . . One tenement or set of apartments, with their appropriate fittings, comprise all the conveniences requisite for a well-ordered family; and in addition to the sleeping rooms, provision is made for an enclosed bed in the closet out of the living room.*

"The nature of the foundation requiring excavation to a considerable depth, a basement story has been formed with a range of well-lighted and ventilated apartments. A wash-house and bath are provided for the common use of the tenants, under the control of the Superintendent or Keeper, for whom an office is placed near the public entrance. To him is also intrusted the retailing of coal at moderate prices.

"The question of rendering the building fire-proof had much consideration, and the plan finally adopted secures this important object, as well as prevents the communication of sound, and all percolation of water between the several floors. This is effected by arching the floors and roofs with hollow bricks slightly wedge-shaped, six inches deep, four inches wide on the top, nine inches long, seven eighths to one inch thick, set in Portland cement, the rise of the arches being from three fourths to one inch per foot on the span. The arrangement of the building is such as to render the floor and roof arches a continued series of abutments to each other, excepting at the extremities, where they are tied in with seven eighths inch iron rods, secured to stone or cast iron springers. With peculiar satisfaction it may be stated, that the extra cost of the *fire-proof* construction beyond that with the ordinary combustible floors and roof, did not amount to one per cent. on the contract of £7370, for the entire pile of building.

"The income derived from this building, at very moderate

* Each set of apartments is fitted with a scullery, a sink, a provision safe, and other similar comforts.

rates of charge, varying from 4*s.* to 6*s.*, and in three cases 7*s.* [a week] for a set of rooms, yields a return on the amount of outlay amply sufficient to encourage investments in similar undertakings, — a point quite essential to the success of a model intended for general adoption." *

View of the Internal Quadrangle to the Model House, Streatham Street.

Having thus shown the possibilities which lie within the reach of a society, of effecting great good by attention to this most urgent necessity, we hardly need add that such possibilities are not to be thrown away. There is no doubt here

* *Circular of the Society*, 1851. The ground rent of the land upon which the Streatham Street House stands is £ 50 per annum. If we estimate the rent for each set of apartments by the week at 5*s.*, the yearly return from the whole house would be £ 624. Taking the ground rent from this, £ 574 are left, or something over 7 3-4 per cent. on the cost of the building.

In our cities it is probable that the value of the ground would be much higher than in London in this instance. The expense of building would also be considerably more. One of our most experienced architects informs us, that after some comparison and calculation, he judges that one quarter to one third should be added to the amount to get a fair estimate of the cost here. He says, "On the introduction of these buildings into our country, some modification both of plan and construction would present themselves, having reference to the different habits of life, or arising from slightly different methods of building and the use of different materials."

It is to be taken into view, in connection with the consideration of the increased cost of such buildings in our country, that the rents paid here would be actually much higher than those in London, though, perhaps, not so high in proportion to the price of labor.

to clog the progress of benevolence. Such possibilities come to us directly from the hand of God; as we receive them, they turn to blessings or to curses.

We pass now to a topic intimately connected with the improvement of the homes of the poor, the education of their children. In the consideration of the means of preventing pauperism, these two subjects cannot be dissociated.

We have hitherto been accustomed to regard our school system with too blind a satisfaction; we have not sufficiently recognized its defects; we have not enough considered that, excellent as it is in many respects, it yet leaves the class most needing instruction wholly uncared for. The reports that are made from year to year of the increase of juvenile vagrancy and depravity among us, are terrible proofs of its incompleteness. A remedy must be found and applied to this growing evil, or the dangerous classes will daily become more dangerous; and for this we shall have no one to reproach but ourselves, and our neglect will, in accordance with the inevitable laws of God for this world, bring its own retribution.

The same general moral and economical arguments, which have been urged in relation to the improvement of the homes of the poor, apply with equal force to the question of their education. Others of a similar character belong exclusively to it. We spend large sums to secure the benefits of education to our community; but so long as any class does not receive instruction, so long the community fails to receive the full advantage which it has sought to gain by this expense. While any persons who might have been educated remain ignorant, the state is exposed to the evils which it has desired to prevent. The ignorance of a few may produce evil effects destructive to the happiness and prosperity of many. The good from educating a hundred may be counterbalanced by the evil from neglecting five.

But even were there no danger to the community from leaving an ignorant class in its midst, the chief motive and the true principle of effort for the education of all would remain the same. Every human being is in possession of a boundless, immortal capability of happiness. Many are unable to procure for themselves in this world the means of making that capability a reality; the means must be supplied

to them by others, or the work which God has appointed, and which Christ has exemplified, is left undone on earth.

The difficulties which lie in the way of properly educating the very poor, are numerous and peculiar. No system which has hitherto been adopted in this country will surmount them. In England, the results which have been arrived at from the establishment by individuals of "Ragged Schools," and in France by the public support of "*Salles d'Asile*," have been of the best nature. These attempts seem to have successfully overcome the chief obstacles before them, and they afford examples well suited to our wants.

In the little treatise on the "Philosophy of Ragged Schools," whose title stands at the head of this article, the system of these institutions is clearly developed.*

Our school system offers the benefit of education to all who may apply for it; but for those who are too poor, too neglected, too ignorant, too wilful, or too idle to seek its advantages, it makes no provision.†

Now it is to be remembered that what we technically call education is, in fact, but a very small part of the education of life. The circumstances by which a child is surrounded are what form his character, that is, are his education. It is in the earliest years that the mind is most easily moulded, and it is then that the bitter experiences of want, sickness, and unkindness are, for the most part, the lot of the young children of the poorest classes. The example of vice is often their daily lesson, and they grow up ignorant of their duties as well as of the necessary consequences of their conduct. They are children, but with little of the innocence, and still less of the happiness, of childhood.

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* This essay is one of a series of "Small Books on Great Subjects, edited by a few Well-wishers to Knowledge." In its little compass it contains much wisdom. It is the work of a man of no ordinary liberality and grasp of mind.

† The present efficient City Marshal of Boston, Mr. Francis Tukey, in a report made in 1849, counted the number of truant and vagrant children, between the ages of six and sixteen, in the city, at 1066. He said, (and repeated the same statement in 1851,) "My opinion is, that of the whole number, from eight to nine hundred (from neglect and bad habits) are not fit to enter any of our present schools. From the best information which I can obtain, I am satisfied that the whole number in the city at the present time, (including the above number,) is not less than 1500 of the same class as those described.

"And I earnestly call your attention to them, and the necessity of providing some means to have these children properly brought up, either at public or private expense; for I am satisfied that it will cost the State and City more for police, courts, and prisons, if they are suffered to go at large, than it would to take them now, maintain them, and make them useful citizens."—*Journal of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism*, No. II. p. 36.

In order to counteract the evil effects of this state of things, it is necessary to adopt such means as will insure that these children shall be brought under other influences than those to which they are naturally exposed, and shall receive other education than that which comes from their condition. Schools such as the youngest may attend, must be established on such a system as to secure their attendance. As the ignorant have little regard for long-delayed, ultimate advantages, as their imaginations are often too blunted to recognize any good except that which is immediate, it follows, that, in order to gain the interest of parents, and to insure the attendance of children, some positive immediate advantage should be seen to be connected with the schools. In Paris, this necessity is admirably met by the "*Salles d'asile.*" They are established for the sake of protecting early childhood from abandonment and neglect, and from the accidents of all sorts to which it is exposed. They are designed, also, for the cultivation of the growing intelligence, and for the religious and moral instruction of children from two to seven years old. The style of teaching is simple, and fitted, by its variety, to meet the restlessness natural to childhood. A meal is daily given to the children, and perhaps more than one.

"The *salles d'asile* are under the inspection of a committee of ladies, to whom the warmest thanks are due, since, from the moment that the municipal administration took charge of these establishments, they have watched over them with a zeal and care which have never for a moment relaxed. . . Their functions are not confined to the watching over the intellectual and moral state of the pupils; they hear from the chiefs of the establishment, all the wants, not only of the children, in regard to clothing, but also of those of the parents who may be in extreme poverty. Not unfrequently, these ladies themselves carry their benevolent assistance to the homes of the wretched. . . . . These '*salles d'asile*' are among the most useful and popular institutions of our time. . . . . 'If public benevolence,' adds M. Frégier, from whose account the foregoing is abridged, 'can ever be applied with success to the moral amendment of the people, it will certainly be by active concurrence in the establishment and multiplication of these asylums.'" *

* *The Philosophy of Ragged Schools*, pp. 35–38. Abridged from Frégier, *des Classes Dangereuses*, tom. ii. p. 6.

The facts which are given in the foregoing passages leave no room for doubt, that establishments similar in their character to the "*salles d'asile*" should be added to our present system of schools. Even if the experiment were uncertain, there could be no hesitation about trying it. The matter is of such a sort that there is no safety in neglecting a single suggestion that seems to make for good.

Nor are we without an instance of the benefit which may be done here in our cities by an institution of this kind, even when it depends on a single individual for efficiency and success. It is now not two years ago that a "Charity School" was opened in one of the poorest quarters of Boston, with the design of affording shelter, instruction, the necessary clothing, and occasional food to the children of destitute parents, who would otherwise have been left to run wild in the streets, and pick up a degrading and miserable livelihood by beggary or by theft. The comforts which they receive are sufficient to induce the children to attend regularly. As often as any become fitted to enter the public primary schools, or as often as suitable places in private families can be found for their reception, they are removed from the "Charity School," and the vacancy is filled by other children of the same class. A number of ladies have assumed the responsibilities of visitors of the school, and have aided it with their counsel and their sympathy. Nearly three hundred children have received the benefit of this excellent institution. It is impossible to estimate the exact amount of good which it has effected; — each person will measure it by a different standard; its results may have been more or less successful; — but of this there can be no question, that such a work is in the true spirit of benevolence, and is worthy of all encouragement. It ought not to be left to the uncertain chances of individual capacity and private charity; but the municipal administration, coming to its aid, should secure it upon such a foundation as would render it permanent as long as the need for it should remain, and extensive enough for all whose welfare it might serve.*

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* This "Charity School" is now established at No. 2 Channing Street.

In order to secure the full advantages of such an institution, and to confirm the good which is gained by the children, it will, in all cases, be found necessary to endeavor to raise the character of the parents. According as this is

The establishment of Evening Schools in our cities and towns has, in part, occupied the ground of the "Ragged Schools" in England. In the city of New York, they are now supported at the public expense; and we trust that her example will soon be generally followed.

Though not confined in their operation to any one class, their chief attention should be bestowed on the poorest and most depraved. So far as this is done, so far will they be likely to be followed by the same good effects as have resulted from the Ragged Schools. The work, however, is difficult. It requires peculiar traits of character in those who engage in it, and the teaching is by no means a simple process of cultivating the intellect. The affections are to be developed by sympathy and kindness; confidence is to be won by consistency; the moral truths taught by words are to be illustrated in conduct, and the progress of the intellect is to be based on the cultivation of the heart. We would willingly quote at length from the Philosophy of Ragged Schools, in proof of the efficiency of this method; but we must be content with the following description of the mechanism which is employed.

"Reader, have you ever entered a Ragged School? If you have not, suppose yourself at my elbow, and make a visit to B—— street. You pass through rather a dirty street, and then enter a very dirty alley, near the lower end of which you see a door, and, on entering, find yourself in a clean and comfortable apartment, where from sixty to seventy boys and girls of the most squalid appearance are assembled in small groups round several well-dressed persons. They are reading or spelling, or perhaps tracing letters or words on their slates. You see among them a sharp, eager look, which tells of wits sharpened by necessity; you speak to one; you receive none of the usual homage paid by poverty to riches, but you receive the appellation of 'teacher,' which is, in their minds, the noblest they can give; and in a moment, without the least disguise or *mauvaise honte*, the child will tell you his history, and talk as freely as to an old friend. . . . Presently the reading ceases, a gentleman mounts

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done, the results of the school will be more or less satisfactory. We are often apt so to limit our benevolence, as to reap from it but a stunted growth of good fruits. — Connected with the School in Channing Street, is an office where such work as can be obtained, is gladly received, and given out to poor parents whom forced idleness or ignorant incapacity might otherwise lead to intemperance and increased misery.

a kind of rostrum, a little elevated above the children, and addresses them. He explains the moral doctrines of Christianity, exhorts them to follow the example of our One Great Master, who was himself poor and suffering; encourages them to hope in his goodness, and to see in the present zealous endeavors to ameliorate their condition, a proof that His mercy indeed watches over them. Many of the children listen with the most fixed attention; you see that, at any rate, they understand what has been said; sometimes, a general 'Thank you,' marks their satisfaction when the lecture is concluded; and often shrewd remarks show that they have fully apprehended its purport. A prayer and a hymn sung by the teachers, and such of the children as are capable, concludes the meeting; and whilst the singing is still going on, the teachers gather and dismiss small lots of nine or ten at a time, so as to ensure their quiet departure.

"Such is the mechanism of a Ragged School; but without the warm benevolence which animates the teachers, and which shows itself in all their actions, little would be done."* — *Philosophy of Ragged Schools*, pp. 63 – 65.

After this extract, more need hardly be said. Shall we urge again the duty that rests upon every city and town, upon every individual, that there should be no sparing of effort to see that those who may gain good from such schools are not left without the means of gaining it? Selfishness dictates exertion for this end. Charity, benevolence, all right feelings join in urging it; and if we would show that our professed belief is not a mere profession, we must give our strength to this Christian work.

Some time ago, a thief asked to be allowed to go over one of the Ragged Schools in London, and then said, "I shall subscribe a sovereign, annually; for if these schools had been in existence some years ago, I should not have been what I am now." It depends on us to determine the destiny of the poor, forlorn, tempted child in our streets. How shall we determine it?

We have now very briefly gone through with our subject, — the prevention of pauperism by the improvement of the homes and the education of the poor. We have left many

* "A man, then a notorious thief, said to one of the missionaries who attended him in prison, 'I always considered religion all humbug, and the parsons humbugs, who were paid for praying and preaching; but when I see people taking young thieves who are following in my steps, out of the streets to save them from ruin, this is something like Christianity.'"

collateral suggestions untouched, and we have left undeveloped many arguments and instances by which the views here stated might have been confirmed. But we have brought forward enough to prove that something should be done to better the existing state of things, and we have shown means by which some progress may be made toward this end. And here we might close. But before we leave off, we would speak of one thing more, the most important of all, inasmuch as it is the foundation upon which all that can be accomplished must rest, — we mean individual exertion. It is a matter of deep personal interest to us all, and yet it is a matter about which there has been, and is now, much coldness of feeling and much want of thought. Individual benevolent exertion is only another name for charity; and charity has been too much regarded as a virtue well to be admired, and excellent to be practised, but not of imperative obligation. We lay up good stores for ourselves first, and then we give out of our overflowing abundance, and mean to be charitable. We are too apt to measure our duties by the standard of worldly approbation, and it is easy to neglect that which our narrow world cares little for. Still we profess to be followers of Christ, and believers in an all just God. We go through decently with the observances which show to the world our respectable faith. But how is it with our hearts and our lives? Are they not often unchristian and unbelieving? Do we not forget God, and do we not live as if God would forget us? Lazarus sits at the gate of Dives to-day as he did of old; and to-day, as of old, Lazarus is neglected.

No one will deny that the elevating of those who are poor and miserable in body and soul, is a work worthy of the greatest and most constant efforts. It is a work to be accomplished only by such efforts. Now, no great work ever has been, or ever can be, done on earth except by the combined exertions of individuals. If we look at the amount that is to be done, before the poor can be made what they ought to be, it might seem as if any single person could do very little; but the weakness of one is not like the strength of a thousand. Let every man do his best, and the work, though ten times as great, would be soon completed. Nor is any one held excused because of his want of power. Have we nothing for others? No gifts which we can spare? No superfluity bounti-

fully given to us that it may serve the need of those less rich? Have we no single talent, no thought, no word, no action, no sympathy?

But while we recognize this need and this power of individual exertion, we cannot be blind to the difficulties which surround it. "If there is any thing," says the wise author of *The Claims of Labor*, "If there is any thing that requires thought and experience, it is the exercise of charity in such a complicated system as modern life." The difficulties are not merely with regard to the objects of charity, and to the method of securing the ends of benevolence, but they relate also to the means which we use, and involve the consideration of all social arrangements. There is no harder point in the morals of life than to draw the line between proper and improper expense, between suitable and unsuitable indulgence. But our danger is not that we shall forget ourselves too much. The need of thought and experience does not diminish our responsibility, nor is it to serve as an excuse for careless inaction.

The exercise of charity should not depend on fitful and uncertain impulses; it must rest on high and abiding principles. Enthusiasm may light its fire, but the constancy of a right will must support its steady flame. We are to look for no new principles in morality or in politics, by which any sudden and happy change is to be produced in the condition of men. "The Christian religion," says the author we just now quoted, "has been eighteen hundred years before the world, and have we exhausted the morality in that?" We must make use of the means we have. We must not attempt the work in any spirit of dilettanteism or affectation. There is often an attractiveness about the representations given of charity, which may induce those whose fancies are touched by such pictures to endeavor to imitate them, and add this to their other worldly graces. They may be sure that such imitation is worthless. Too often, the earnestness of the real lover of this heavenly mistress is chilled by disappointment. Humility, patience, and constant hope must be with him to refresh his zeal.

And now, why is it that, with this work set before us, a work which might well engage the affections of the noblest heart, and the powers of the strongest mind, and yet one

which rejects no willing laborer, however humble, — why is it that so little is done? It is from want of thought and want of imagination. In our pleasant homes, it is hard to imagine the sufferings of the poor. In the whirl of our busy occupations, it is hard to catch a moment in which to think of what we might do for them.

"The wounds I might have healed!
The human sorrow and smart!
And yet it never was in my soul
To play so ill a part.
But evil is wrought by want of Thought,
As well as by want of Heart."

Does the shadow of the sick woman, of the shivering child, never darken the brightness of our luxurious, lighted rooms? At our tables, is a place never filled by the image of the half-starved, hopeless man? In the pauses of the music, do we never hear the sound of the children crying for help?

"Oh! songez vous parfois que de faim dévoré
Peut-être un indigent dans les carrefours sombres
S'arrête et voit danser vos lumineuses ombres
Aux vitres du salon doré?"

We who can spend so much for pleasant trifles for ourselves, we who can build large houses, and buy gaudy furniture, and laces and jewels and all costly finery, can we not spare one of these vanities for the wants of others?

"Lady! Lady!
Wear but one robe the less, — forego one meal, —
And thou shalt taste the core of many tales,
Which now flit past thee like a minstrel's songs,
The sweeter for their sadness."

The evil that comes from thoughtless carelessness is perhaps as much, and is as certainly to be laid to our charge, as the evil that comes from design.

Recollecting then this, and living according to this recollection, we may also recollect with hope the words, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me."

ART. IX.—1. *A Municipal History of the Town and City of Boston during two Centuries, from September* 17, 1630, *to September* 17, 1830. By JOSIAH QUINCY. Boston: Little & Brown. 1852. 8vo. pp. 444.

2. *Sketches of Boston Past and Present, and of some few Places in its Vicinity.* With 120 Engravings, and three Maps. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 16mo. pp. 246 & 112.

MR. QUINCY publishes this history at the close of his eightieth year. The generation of his contemporaries, therefore, has almost entirely passed away; and his public character and career can be discussed with something of the freedom which belongs to the history of a past age. We hope the day is still distant when an equal license can be given to those who would contemplate him in the more private relations of life, and in the circumstances by which he was acted upon, as well as in those which he shaped or directed. Few octogenarians can look back upon an equally long and distinguished career in many departments of the public service. Mr. Quincy has been emphatically a public servant, in the most democratic meaning of that phrase; he has filled many offices, quite dissimilar in character, with as much reputation and success as others have secured by confining themselves to a single sphere of action. He has been an active politician, a most efficient chief of municipal administration, and a highly esteemed president for many years of the oldest and most renowned literary institution in the country. And his pen has not been idle. He has published an excellent life of his father, whose name was so prominent in the opening scenes of the American Revolution, an elaborate history of Harvard College, a minute record of the origin and progress of the Boston Athenæum, and he now appears as the historian of that city whose fortunes he has done more than any living man to shape and influence. We need not pause to enumerate the minor publications or lesser offices that have filled up the intervals between the great stages of his public life. His activity has known no pause, and asked no relaxation but change of labor. His hand has always found something to do, and he has invariably done it with all his might. It

was perfectly characteristic in him, after he had retired from the presidency of the college at an age which most men consider as a natural and necessary resting-place from all labors which have reference only to our present existence, to devote himself with characteristic energy to the compilation of two historical works, which no one, indeed, was so competent to write as himself, but which no one but himself would have thought of writing, except in the spring-time or summer of life, before the hand begins to shake, or the eye to grow dim, or former employments and interests to seem dull and insignificant in the retrospect. Mr. Quincy has retained the freshness of his feelings quite as well as the vigor of his intellect. He has now chronicled the active scenes of his mayoralty, — and no one who was not living in the city at the time can tell how terribly active they were — with as much keenness and animation as if he had left the office but yesterday, instead of nearly a quarter of a century ago.

It is little to say that Mr. Quincy was eminently successful in all the public trusts that he held. He imprinted his own character upon them, and the history of his administration became a chapter in his personal biography. He exerted that influence which always belongs to a mind of commanding powers and great resoluteness of purpose, to remarkable administrative energy and a singular capacity of labor. To adopt a common phrase, he threw his whole soul into the business. When once placed in command, he was not content to be the figure-head, but insisted on becoming the rudder, of the ship; he shaped its course, and guided it in every storm. Still, he was not a martinet or a busybody; he did not mar every thing by officious interference, or a petty scrutiny of details; and he was not tenacious of power for the sake of the mere vain shows of authority. On the contrary, much of his success was attributable to his entire freedom from any petty personal feeling, and to his disregard of all collateral aims. His manliness and independence of character were so conspicuous in his demeanor and his acts, even in his commanding figure and noble presence, that they enforced universal respect and esteem, and gave him the personal influence, without which, in this country at least, nothing great can be accomplished. Keen and almost imperious in his pursuit of a great public purpose, he bore down

all opposition, but forgot the strife as soon as the end was accomplished, and welcomed his former opponents to be his coadjutors in the next enterprise.

Such a character is not often formed under our very democratic institutions; and the people are apt to be so terribly jealous of one when it does appear, that it can with difficulty secure a sufficiently wide field of action. The sovereign Demos is not content to have the thing done which is most to its advantage, unless it be done in its own way, and with proper deference to its supreme authority. The really faithful public servant must often spend as much effort merely to maintain his own popularity, though this popularity be desired only because it is a means of public usefulness, as in the promotion of schemes that directly tend to the public good. The people persist in regarding office only as a reward, or a favor conferred upon the recipient; and still exact from the functionary, when installed in the post, as exclusive devotion to their interest and pleasure as if they had chosen him for their own advantage, without reference to his personal gratification. He is expected to perform much, but authority is granted him as sparingly as if the office were meant to be a sinecure. This policy effectually protects the community against any harm from an incompetent or ill disposed person, who might unfortunately be placed in a public station; but it is a great obstacle to the accomplishment of any permanent or comprehensive good. While it is continued, we cannot expect, more than once in a century or two, to behold so active and efficient an administration as was that of Mr. Quincy during the six years that he was Mayor of Boston. The principles upon which it was conducted are well explained by himself in the following extract.

"The Mayor, from his first induction in 1823, had taken the place of chairman of every Committee of the Board of Aldermen, appointed on any important interest of the city. As this practice had been openly censured as selfish and assuming, the Mayor afterwards vindicated publicly his course, as essential to a knowledge of the objects of his official duties, which included inspection, superintendence, and recommendation of measures on his responsibility. To an intelligent performance of these duties, the actual investigation of every question, as it occurs, in the course of daily business, is important, as scarcely one can arise among the complicated and often discordant interests of a

great city, which is absolutely local and individual. It touches some other, perhaps some rival interest, affects some principle, or creates some precedent, which can be alone detected or rightly understood by being examined in the vicinity, or among the individuals it directly affects. The knowledge thus acquired, must often be all-important to the chief magistrate, who means to place himself in the condition to understand and maintain all the real interests of the city. One of the greatest securities for public virtue and for the exact performance of official duty is a sense of responsibility. Whoever means to be faithful to himself or his trusts will enlarge and multiply occasions for keeping alive this sense in himself and in those whose interests he is called upon to protect.

"From the recent organization of the city government, and the consequent new arrangement of its powers, and from many new and extensive projects of improvement, there was an uncommon influx of questions of great interest and importance; yet the business of the office was efficiently and promptly executed. The practice of this rule of conduct, during nearly six years, did not involve the Mayor in any unreasonable or impracticable accumulation of business; and there is no ground for the opinion that such a rule, and a practice in conformity with it, exceeds the ability of any individual qualified for such a station, who brings into it, as every one ought, a heart exclusively devoted to duty, and a spirit resolved on its faithful performance.

"The practice of devolving all, or a principal part, of the duties of the office of Mayor upon committees of the Board of Aldermen ought, therefore, to be received by the citizens with great jealousy.

"As the city increases in population and extent, some relaxation of this principle may be required, in relation to merely personal or local questions; but none ought ever to be permitted in respect of those which affect the health, the character, or the general interests of the city. A disposition to evade labor and responsibility is the best criterion of a want of qualification for any office. It is important that this point should be distinctly stated and realized, for a contrary practice is very likely to find advocates in a course of time. Men of talents and high acquirements, who take office only as a stepping-stone to some higher station, will be apt to regard some of its duties as menial; and, consequently, to strive to throw the personal superintendence and examination of the resulting questions upon others, and cast on them the burden and responsibility of inspection and decision. They will thus be relieved from attention to subjects, often irksome, never, in themselves, interesting, at times disgusting, and,

in cases of malignant contagion, dangerous. Above all, an executive officer is thus enabled to escape the odium and unpopularity consequent upon discovering his opinions on questions often intensely interesting to individuals or sections of the city; especially when it happens, as it often must, that the Mayor or his friends are interested in the advancement or prevention of projects or improvements of the city. The practice of devolving responsibility on committees, enables men to do that by influence, which they might be unwilling to do directly. It is so much easier to effect private and personal views by committees, than by direct voice and superintendence, that there is a constant temptation to evade the principle of that official responsibility of the Mayor which tends to place his conduct in frequent and full relief before the citizens.

"This principle of executive responsibility, which the Mayor, at his entrance into the office, thus inculcated on the citizens, and which, during the nearly six years of his official tenure, he never ceased both to assume and avow, was unquestionably among the chief causes of whatever success attended that administration. It is, however, unfortunately a fact, that there is in republics a reciprocal tendency, both in executives and among citizens, to keep this principle out of sight. Men are naturally jealous of any disposition to exert powers, even when they exist and are used for their benefit. But if a people require talents in official station, they must exact responsibility in their exercise; for the best, if not the only evidence of talents and qualification for public usefulness is to be found in what is recommended and effected." — pp. 122 – 124.

Strictly speaking, the title of this volume is a misnomer. It purports to be a history of the town and city of Boston for two centuries; but more than three fourths of it are devoted to a review of the six years during which Mr. Quincy was its Mayor, and of the measures that were adopted during this period, the remainder being properly nothing more than an introduction and an appendix to these annals of a single administration. The more comprehensive title was probably adopted from considerations of delicacy, that the writer might not seem to be exclusively occupied with matters in which he had a strong personal concern. To many readers, however, the book owes most of its interest to the fact that it is thus limited, in a great degree, to the history of Boston for the brief but critical period of the author's mayoralty. It thus acquires something of the charm of a biography; for it

illustrates the writer's own character and history quite as much as the subject to which it is nominally devoted.

The people of New England have always manifested a strong attachment to that organization into townships, which has been rightly declared to be the characteristic feature of their political system. The number of independent boards or committees, who managed the affairs of each little republic, opened so many public offices to gratify the ambition and the pride of the inhabitants, that every head of a family might, if he saw fit, acquire a share in the administration. There was this further advantage, also, at least in a small township, that, the majority of the people being actually in office, the administration was necessarily popular; the dissentients were certain to be in a minority. Each office, however humble, being conferred by popular choice, was a mark of public respect, and had the dignity of a public trust. In every town, however small, there must be Selectmen, Overseers of the Poor, Surveyors of Highways, Assessors of Taxes, School Committees, Firewards, and many other incumbents of petty offices, the functions of all of which, in a centralized government, are performed by delegates from the central power. Those who have a local interest and most local knowledge are more apt than strangers to fill these offices to advantage. The system, moreover, is an economical one; there is much work to be done, but being shared among so many, it is all done gratuitously, the dignity conferred by public office being the only compensation for its burdens.

But when the population of the township has increased beyond a certain limit, the advantages of this system begin to diminish, and its inconveniences become manifest. Numerous as the offices are, if there be two or three thousand heads of families in the place, but a small fraction of them can have a share in the administration. There is more work to be done, and the office which has no salary attached to it is found to be burdensome. The incumbent of it is brought into contact, not with a small circle of neighbors and friends, who understand his character and appreciate his motives, but with a multitude of constituents, to whom he is known only in his official relations, and each one of whom requires some attention to be paid to his personal concerns.

The perplexed town-officer cannot explain the difficulties of his position, or justify his conduct, to all of them. He soon finds that he is either becoming unpopular himself, or is sharing the unpopularity of his colleagues. The offices begin to go a begging; that is, competent persons cannot be found who are willing to occupy them, and they necessarily fall into the hands of the careless, the inefficient, and the presumptuous, under whose administration the interests of the community suffer serious damage. The increase of the population has created new wants, heightened old defects, and shown the necessity of many improvements. But while the authority is divided among so many boards and committees, unity of action can with difficulty be secured, and little is accomplished. The responsibility is divided among so many, that no one is held accountable for delay and neglect. The impossibility of satisfying everybody is held to be a sufficient excuse for not undertaking any enterprise of weight and magnitude. Only the business of ordinary routine is accomplished, and that usually in a languid and inefficient manner.

This is but a faint picture of the inconveniences to which the people of Boston were subjected by their "inherited and inveterate antipathy to a city organization." The population had increased, from about eighteen thousand in 1790, to over forty thousand in 1820; and six vain attempts had been made at long intervals to form them into a civic corporation. These had been defeated by a vote of the inhabitants in "town meeting," — that primitive form of a popular legislative assembly, which was so strongly recommended to them by their old associations and democratic instincts. To organize a municipal administration would be to give up the cherished privilege of immediate legislation upon their own concerns, and to delegate this power to a Council, whose actions could be controlled only by their liability to be turned out of office at the expiration of the year. But the impracticability of continuing the old system at length became manifest; when there were over seven thousand qualified voters, it was obvious that a town meeting would be an unwieldy and tumultuous assemblage, in which no deliberative action could be had, as the greater number of those present could have neither voice nor hearing. Reluctantly, then, and by a slender majority,

the people accepted, in 1822, an act that had been passed by the Legislature "for establishing the city of Boston." This act, following the most prevalent example, gave the control of most of the affairs of the city to a Mayor, a Board of Aldermen, and a Common Council, whose collective appellation was "The City Council." The organization was imperfect at first, many defects being allowed to remain in it, probably for the purpose of reconciling the people to the change in their form of government by not rendering it too sweeping and too sudden. Thus, several independent boards, the members of which were chosen directly by the people, were continued in existence, their authority being coördinate with that of the City Council, instead of being subject to it, and the unity of the administration being, to this extent, destroyed. The limits of their respective functions being imperfectly defined, collisions between them were frequent, and the vigorous prosecution of any one set of measures, which were closely related to each other, was met by almost insuperable obstacles.

The facts related in this volume form an instructive commentary on this defect in municipal organization, which still exists, in a greater or less degree, in all the cities in the State. The multiplication of offices, filled directly by popular election, is a fundamental error in the organization of a large community. Neither the National nor the State government is thus constituted. In both these cases, the people choose the members of the legislature, and the leading officers of the executive department, — frequently, only the chief of that department; and on the few persons thus chosen rests the whole responsibility for the proper conduct of affairs. To insist on filling all the subordinate offices by popular vote would be to throw the machine of state into inextricable confusion, all the independent portions being more likely to clash than to cooperate, and any defect or failure in the general result being likely to be irremediable, because it could not be traced with certainty to its proper cause. The management of private corporations affords an instructive lesson in this respect to the community at large. The affairs of a bank, a railroad, or a manufacturing corporation are generally managed with far more prudence and economy than those of a city. Many of these corporations have the control of larger funds, employ a

greater number of servants, and give larger salaries, than any municipal corporation in the State. Yet the stockholders in them content themselves with making choice, at their annual meeting, of a board of directors, to whom they give full powers. These directors often select one of their own number to be the president, and put the reins entirely into his hands, keeping a watchful oversight of his proceedings, but never interfering with them except in cases of grave necessity. And with what energy, economy, and despatch their affairs are generally conducted! Cases of defalcation, incompetency, or criminal neglect, among their subordinate officers, are even fewer than among those of a public corporation, where the whole community are on the watch to detect them. The administration has, in many respects, the vigor and unity of a despotism, with this capital improvement, — that the despot is sure to be dethroned in less than a year, if he mismanages the affairs of his people. One great objection to the system of filling numerous subordinate offices by popular vote is, that an incompetent or dishonest person, having once wormed his way into the post by his political manœuvres, is sure to remain there till the end of his year, though his unfitness may be glaringly manifest before the first month has expired. The advantage in point of economy is so clearly in favor of the system which makes the administration a unit, that it hardly needs to be pointed out; no private corporation could be administered on the opposite plan without serious risk of bankruptcy in the first year of its operations. The local administration is now far the most expensive portion of our whole scheme of government, the burden being more sensibly felt because it is supported by direct taxation. Plans of retrenchment, or of more effectual protection to the local treasury, are of little avail; for the evil does not arise from positive mismanagement or any gross abuse of office, so much as from negligence, timidity, and the want of that far-sighted economy which makes seasonable provision for future exigencies. To multiply jealous precautions would only be to increase the evil; the system is too complex already.

But we are not so sanguine as to believe that the public will ever learn to manage their affairs upon the same principles which, as individuals, they apply to their pecuniary con-

cerns. It would be too quixotic to expect that the business of a city should be as well conducted as that of a manufacturing company at Lowell or Waltham, or even of the Western Railroad corporation. We may console ourselves for the waste of the public funds, by remembering that we have our money's worth in the glorious privilege of grumbling at our rulers, and turning them all out of office at the end of every year or two. The bank or the railroad, when it has found a faithful and efficient manager or servant, is usually foolish enough to retain his services as long as possible; which is contrary to the democratic principle of rotation in office. The people of Boston left Mr. Quincy out of office at the expiration of the sixth year of his mayoralty; and the corporation of Harvard College eagerly improved the opportunity by making him President of that institution for sixteen years.

The first year after the organization of the new city government, it was designedly administered upon cautious and moderate principles, few innovations being attempted; the object being to alleviate the fears and jealousies that had been excited by the change, and to allow the new system to become rooted in the habits and the affections of the people, before its strength was tried by the endeavor to effect those reforms which the increase of the population and the altered circumstances of the times had rendered necessary. At the close of this year, the first Mayor, Mr. Phillips, declined being a candidate for reëlection; and the convention which nominated Mr. Quincy for the office expressed to him their wishes and expectations, "that the measures of the ensuing administration should be characterized by great activity and energy, and that a full development should be given, as far as possible, to all the executive powers granted by the charter." He expressed his willingness to accept the office upon this understanding of the nature of its duties, and pledged himself, if elected, that he would endeavor to carry out the desires and principles of the convention. Never was a pledge more fully and satisfactorily redeemed.

We wish candidates for civic offices were oftener selected on similar principles, and required to give similar pledges. Our municipal administrations throughout the country, but especially here in New England, seem to have been injuri-

ously affected by an over-cautious and timid reference to public opinion, and by an anxious shrinking from responsibility. This remark applies to all municipalities in which the number of the inhabitants exceeds ten or twelve thousand; but it is particularly applicable to our great marts of commerce, some of which already vie in magnitude with the leading capitals of Europe. The system which was first devised for the small townships of New England, and is still working admirably in them, is wholly insufficient for the wants of a great metropolis, and even for the masses of population that are drawn around the centres of manufacturing and commercial industry. In these, a large measure of municipal reform is greatly needed, in respect both to the economy and efficiency of the administration. The expenditures of these communities are large, as, under our decentralized polity, the law throws upon each of them the support of their own poor, the maintenance of the system of public education within their limits, the construction and support of highways, the establishment of the police, and the regulation of the inferior tribunals of law and other means of administering justice. Vice, poverty, and crime gravitate towards these centres of population, and exist there in rapidly increasing masses, which sometimes menace the general security. The preservation of the public health often requires a whole system of reformatory measures to be executed at one time, at great expense, the rapid growth of the population having far exceeded the expectations of the founders of the city. The first step for accomplishing these objects in the cheapest and most efficient manner should be to give greater unity to the administration, and to throw the whole responsibility upon a few persons. The necessary preparation for this step must be to get rid of the idea, that municipal office is a reward, to be bestowed upon the most deserving or the most needy, — to compensate those who have merited well of the public in other relations, or have rendered important services to the political party to which they belong. Who would think of giving away the presidency of a bank, or the agency of a manufacturing corporation, upon such principles? The case of a city is entirely similar; it has a great deal of work to be done, and the only proper question is, who can be found to do it most efficiently. Whoever is

really fitted for the office should be asked to accept it, and sufficient inducements should be added to obtain his consent. The idea of favor or reward on either side is inappropriate, the only object being to obtain the services of the most competent person for the post, and to give him a reasonable compensation for the entire devotion of his time and talents to its duties.

Still more short-sighted and unwise is the system of holding up this class of offices as prizes in the political arena, to be won by the most active and astute, perhaps the most unscrupulous, partisan. What has the orthodoxy of a man's political or religious opinions to do with the proper management of such municipal affairs as the conduct of the finances, the direction of the police, the superintendence of the streets, and the construction of school-houses? Who cares whether his family physician be a Whig or a Democrat? Political intolerance has been a chief cause of wastefulness, neglect, and mismanagement in municipal concerns; for the principle has been, not only to exclude those who belonged to the party in the minority, but to elect the most prominent and active members of the dominant faction, as if their political services were a sufficient test of their abilities and their uprightness. Mr. Quincy's term of service was eminently fortunate in this respect; as during most of the time there was a lull in the storm of party politics, and at the elections he was generally supported or opposed with reference only to his merits as a Mayor of Boston.

We have not room to give a detailed account of the measures which characterized his administration, and it is not necessary. The history of them in this volume is able, clear, and impartial; and the account of the obstacles with which he had to contend, as well as of the results of his policy, both as they were developed at the time, and as they have since appeared, is full of instruction. Generally speaking, he had no cause to complain of a want of support by the bulk of his constituents. His manly and independent course, the sagacity with which his measures were conceived, and the energy and perseverance with which they were executed, commanded the respect and confidence of the citizens, even when they shocked the prejudices or obstructed the interests of a few. After six years of service, it is true, the people

failed, at two successive trials, to reëlect him to office. But the failure was owing to a partial disaffection proceeding from causes that soon ceased to operate; and but for the appointment that almost immediately removed him to another sphere of duty, he might have been reinstated in his post at the end of a year with greater unanimity than had ever yet been manifested. Nearly all the objects for which he was first appointed, however, had been accomplished; and he could well afford to retire, leaving many conspicuous monuments of the great public improvements that he had planned and effected, which will carry down his name and praise to future generations.

Among the most successful measures of Mr. Quincy's administration were those adopted for the suppression of idleness, vice, and crime, and the purification of the city from many of the causes of infection and disease. The success of these measures was the more remarkable, as they were attended with little or no expense, and did not render necessary any additional legislation, or any enlargement of the very scanty police establishment, which had hitherto hardly merited its name. The remedy was found in the vigorous enforcement of the laws already in being, and in the active use of the little force already appointed for the work. On retiring from office, Mr. Quincy was able to say, "the venerable old charter number of twenty-four constables still continue the entire array of city police; and eighty watchmen, of whom never more than eighteen are out at a time, constitute the whole nocturnal host of police militant, to maintain the peace and vindicate the wrongs of upwards of sixty thousand citizens." The Mayor, though it was his duty to cause the laws to be executed and put in force, had no specific authority granted to him for this end, and in the attempt to suppress riots and unlawful assemblies, could act only as "justice of the peace throughout the commonwealth," or under a character which was not derived from his connection with the city. Yet with these slender means, he succeeded in entirely breaking up the great haunt of vice and crime, which had long been the opprobrium and the terror of the citizens. When a riot was anticipated, instead of sending a few constables to the spot, who would only have been derided by the mob, or of calling out the military, which might have

occasioned a considerable loss of life, he organized a volunteer force of athletic truckmen and other well-disposed citizens, and, placing himself at their head, quickly overawed and dispersed the rioters merely by a show of stouter arms and heavier fists than their own. Having caused a suitable House of Correction to be built, where the disorderly and the vicious could be not only imprisoned, but provided with hard labor, the "venerable constables" were set to work to make arrests with astounding rapidity in the district which had been for many years a sort of Alsatia, or head-quarters of effrontery and crime. Awed by this bold attack, its inmates attempted no defence, and the region where vice and villany had been represented as "too strong for the police" was soon rendered as peaceable and orderly as any part of the city. Street-begging was almost entirely repressed, and the measures for a systematic cleansing of the city were so effectual, that they produced a striking alteration in the bills of mortality. During the ten years preceding 1823, when Mr. Quincy came into office, the proportion of deaths to the whole population was one in forty-two; during the next four years it was less than one in fifty; and in the last three years of his administration, it was but one in fifty-seven. The effect upon the personal comfort of the citizens was hardly less remarkable; it has almost passed into a proverb, that Boston never had clean streets before Mr. Quincy's administration, and has never had clean streets since.

Another important service rendered to the city was an entire reform of the old system of protection against fire, and the creation of a new and very efficient fire department. The opposition to this reform was formidable enough, arising from the affection of the citizens for their old institutions, and especially for an ancient and honorable board of "firewards," thirty-six in number, annually chosen by the citizens in their respective wards, and who, in point of vigor and efficiency, almost equalled "the venerable constables" themselves. Their chief duty at a fire was to "impress" unhappy persons out of the gaping crowd who had been drawn together to see the show, and compel them "to form lanes" for the purpose of passing buckets of water from the pumps to the engines. But as resistance to arbitrary impressment was a constitutional principle with the good people of Boston, the

persons thus coerced generally ran off as soon as the fireward's back was turned. These officers also had general authority to direct operations at a fire; but as they were so numerous, and as any three of them had just as much authority as any other three, it may be supposed that there was not much unity or system in command. Practically, each engine company acted as they saw fit, and the impressed volunteers did the same. No means had been devised for furnishing a supply of water; and as each engine had but a few feet of hose, even when it was drawn as near to the flames as was possible without scorching the firemen, the stream had to be propelled from a considerable distance, and most of the little water which had been obtained was wasted. The system in all its parts was at least a hundred and fifty years old, and had answered tolerably well for the wants of a small population. But it was ludicrously insufficient for the protection of a great city against the most formidable peril with which, in our severe climate, it can be menaced.

The account of the projected reform, of the furious opposition that it encountered, and of its ultimate entire success forms an amusing and instructive narrative. The wrath of the old firemen, "the infringement of the ancient liberties of the people," who could no longer choose firewards, as the appointment of the chief engineer and his assistants was to be vested in the City Council, and the indignation of the mob, who were to be kept at a distance from the fires, instead of crowding around them under the pretence of rendering aid, would have crushed the project altogether, if the occurrence of three extensive conflagrations, in rapid succession, had not thrown new light upon the subject.

"'Do you think, sir,' said one of the captains of the engines, 'that the citizens of Boston will ever submit to be prohibited from assisting a fellow townsman in distress. Such sort of laws may be obeyed in despotic countries, or in cities where the inhabitants do not feel for one another; but this is not the case, nor ever will be in Boston. No such system can ever be introduced into this city.' When the advantages of the hose system were suggested, it was answered, that it was practicable in Philadelphia, from the abundance and easy command of water; but Boston possessed no such facilities. When it was stated in reply, that, in New York, the want of a sufficient head of water was supplied by stationing engines at intervals between the water and

the fire, which, by playing into each other successively, enabled the nearest to throw a continuous stream upon the fire. The answer of one of the captains was characteristic of the state of the existing prejudices on the subject. 'Set enginemen at a distance from the fire! It will never be submitted to. Their desire is always to be in the hottest of the battle. The nearer the fire, the higher the post of honor. Their struggle is, who shall get to it the first, and who keep the nearest. It would be more difficult to keep a Boston engine back, in order to play into its neighbor, than it would be to put out the fire.' Many thoughtful and intelligent citizens had also doubts concerning the efficiency of the hose system; and the City Council concluded, after much deliberation, that it was most prudent to postpone for a time attempts to introduce improvements obnoxious to so many prejudices.'" pp. 156, 157.

As the recent Presidential elections had been rather tame affairs, the good people of Boston exhausted all the public spirit they had to spare, — and no community ever had more, — on the question about a new fire department. The voice of the Mayor was continually heard above the din, arguing, expostulating, and replying to vague and stereotyped assertions by concise and nervous statements of facts. He triumphed at last; he convinced, in succession, the Legislature, the City Council, the respectable old firewards themselves, and at length the citizens. On the final appeal to the people, out of twenty-five hundred votes, a majority of less than two hundred decided in favor of the new system. The Mayor organized a numerous and very efficient fire department, animated with so much *esprit de corps* that when, a few years afterwards, presuming on the paternal relation which he sustained towards it, he ventured to disobey its behest in the appointment of its chief, the members marched to the polls in solid column, and turned him out of office. Never was there a more signal exhibition of republican ingratitude.

The most conspicuous and enduring monument to the praise of Mr. Quincy's administration is the great public improvement, the chief feature of which is the noble market-house, that is everywhere styled, except in this volume, "The Quincy Market." Before his time, the ground-floor of Faneuil Hall, the old "Cradle of Liberty," was defiled by the presence of butchers' stalls, (we wish it were more worthily occupied even at the present day,) while a mean and ugly

wooden shed, that blocked up the only convenient thoroughfare near it, was the only place for the sale of vegetables. A labyrinth of crooked and narrow alleys, frequently choked with trucks and farmers' wagons, formed the purlieus of this place of general resort, while the "Town Dock," extending up nearly to one end of it, mingled the offensive odor of the salt ooze with that of the garbage and filth peculiar to such a locality, and which no exertions in such a neighborhood could wholly remove. Mr. Quincy conceived the bold scheme of buying the neighboring estates, filling up the dock nearly to the limits of the channel, and after making a clean sweep of the vegetable market, of old buildings, and blind alleys, to build a grand market-house of granite, extending in a long line to the eastward, and opening on either face to straight and broad avenues, bordered on the opposite sides by rows of handsome warehouses, built on a uniform plan, to correspond with the architecture of the central edifice. The space about Faneuil Hall would thus be cleared and widened, and the building which the citizens regarded with so much pride and affection would no longer be the centre of an unsightly and noisome district. The plan was a gigantic one, involving the expenditure of millions, alarming to many capitalists who owned the buildings in the neighborhood, and needing the approval of the mass of the citizens, who had a singular affection for their ancient pathways and ancient landmarks, and were nervously apprehensive even of the commencement of a city debt. They were not yet inured to the heavy speculations in real estate, which have since become familiar, and which would cause many at the present day to regard such a project with complacency. But formidable as the difficulties were which surrounded the scheme, Mr. Quincy entered upon the execution of it with his characteristic ardor and energy; and within a few years, the work was completed with results so favorable that the projector himself was probably astonished by them.

"A granite market-house, two stories high, five hundred and thirty-five feet long, fifty feet wide, covering twenty-seven thousand feet of land, including every essential accommodation, was erected, at the cost of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Six new streets were opened, and a seventh greatly enlarged, including one hundred and sixty-seven thousand square feet of

land; and flats, docks, and wharf rights obtained, of the extent of one hundred and forty-two thousand square feet. All this was accomplished in the centre of a populous city, not only without any tax, debt, or burden upon its pecuniary resources,— notwithstanding, in the course of the operations, funds to the amount of upwards of eleven hundred thousand dollars had been employed, — but with large permanent additions to its real and productive property. The proprietors of land in the north section of the city were also enabled by this improvement to open Fulton and Commercial Streets, thus greatly enlarging mercantile accommodations, facilitating intercourse with the great southern wharves, and creating opportunities for the foundation of those noble blocks of granite stores, which have since been erected to the eastward of those streets." pp. 74, 75.

We have dwelt longer upon this volume than its local interest and importance may seem to justify. But we trust the reader is now prepared to believe that the history contained in it affords some curious illustrations of the working of our democratic institutions and the peculiarities of our national character. Those especially who have any interest in the conduct of municipal affairs may derive from it much profitable instruction; and we are sure they will lay it down with a hearty feeling of admiration and respect for the eminent public services and manly character of its author.

Art. X — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By George Bancroft. Vol. IV. *The American Revolution. Epoch First. The Overthrow of the European Colonial System*, 1748 – 1763. Boston: Little & Brown. 1852. 8vo.

The public have waited with some impatience for the continuation of Mr. Bancroft's History of the United States. The earlier volumes, with some peculiarities of style and taste that provoked criticism, had yet substantial merits which procured for them a wide popularity. The writer had evidently spared no pains in the collection and collation of materials, and the purely narrative portion of the work, though too often interrupted by digressions and extraneous matter, was written with great vigor, conciseness,

and effect. His manner had one signal excellence, which would have atoned for many faults; it was never feeble, prosy, or dull. One other quality it had, which contributed largely to the success of the work, though we are not sure that it will add to its merits in the estimation of posterity. It was animated throughout by a fervid spirit of patriotism; a love of country too exalted to be discriminating, and an admiration of the American polity, which would brook no limitations and admit of no defects, colored his pages so highly, that the historian seemed to give place to the eulogist, and the leading personages of the story to be uniformly represented as saints or heroes. Foreigners are apt to ridicule such manifestations of national feeling, and even Americans would require its expression to be more temperate. The historian who would write for posterity must remember, that distance of time has the same effect as distance of place in sobering the judgment, and reducing all colors to a uniform neutral tint.

This volume comes to us too late for an extended examination at the present time; but we may return to it at a future day. The title indicates some uncertainty of purpose, whether the period to which it relates is to be regarded as the concluding portion of the Colonial history of the country, or as the commencement of the Revolutionary period. Only the first half of the title, as we have cited it, appears on the proper title-page of the volume; the remainder is inserted on a fly-leaf which follows the Table of Contents. A theory is here implied, which the author seems to hesitate about promulgating, that the minds of the Americans were really prepared for independence, and that the European Colonial System was actually overthrown, by events which took place between 1748 and 1763, and especially by the conquest of Canada. Much of the matter contained in this volume seems to have been collected and arranged with a view to the explanation and defence of this very doubtful proposition. The governors appointed by the crown were usually dependent upon the Colonial legislatures for their salaries; and these popular representative bodies often manifested their dislike of the ruler who was placed over them, and of the principles of his administration, by curtailing his income, granting it only from year to year, or withholding it altogether. They adopted the time-honored policy of the English House of Commons, and other representative assemblies engaged in the defence of popular rights, by making the power of the purse, which was indisputably lodged in their hands, a means of controlling the whole policy of the administration. A Colonial governor was thus reduced to a very awkward dilemma; if he yielded to the wishes of the assembly, the ministry deprived him of his place; if he obeyed his instructions from the ministry, the assembly took away his salary. As

needy and greedy persons were usually appointed to these offices, we might expect to find their letters to the English ministry filled with complaints of "the levelling principles of the people of the Colonies," "the tendency of American legislatures to independence," "their unwarrantable presumption in 'declaring their own rights and privileges,' their ambitious efforts 'to wrest the administration from the king's officers' by refusing fixed salaries, and compelling the respective governors to annual capitulations for their support." Mr. Bancroft makes abundant citations from their correspondence, the greater part of which still exists only in manuscript, to prove that they entertained such views, and sent home such representations; but the question immediately arises, which he hardly seems to consider, whether such statements, obviously dictated by personal considerations, were not exaggerated and often wholly untrustworthy and false. If such charges had been made public at the time, it is certain that the Colonial legislatures would have branded them as calumnious and unfounded. At a much later period, long after the non-importation agreements and other active measures of opposition, when the Colonies were openly accused of aiming at independence, the leading patriots strenuously disavowed the charge, and asserted that they had no higher ambition than that of enjoying the ordinary privileges of British subjects. Washington, as late as October, 1774, declared "that no such thing [as independence] is desired by any thinking man in all North America." Jay affirmed that, "until after the second petition of Congress, in 1775, I never did hear an American of any class, or of any description, express a wish for the independence of the Colonies." Jefferson says, "before the commencement of hostilities, I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain, and after that, its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all." Dickinson and John Adams, in equally decisive terms, bear testimony to the same fact. As we cannot believe that these men were ignorant of the dispositions and wishes of their countrymen at this momentous epoch, it will require stronger evidence than that of the avaricious and disappointed officers of the crown to convict them of tergiversation or falsehood. We cannot see any propriety, therefore, in designating the fifteen years which preceded the Peace of Paris as the First Epoch of the American Revolution, and the period of the Overthrow of the Colonial System. On the contrary, the system at that time appears to have been in full vigor and activity, the success of the war with France giving to it its largest development, and tempting English statesmen to consider it as a means of recruiting the exhausted treasury of the kingdom. They did not perceive what the sagacity of the ministers of France soon discovered, wherewith to

soothe their mortification under defeat, that the vast extension of the colonial dominion of England would be a swift agent in causing the downfall of the whole fabric. The system devised for the direction and control of a few feeble settlements on the Atlantic coast would be insufficient for the administration of the growing empire into which those settlements had now expanded.

But it is not our object at present to enter into discussion with Mr. Bancroft as to the correctness of the historical theories which he has expounded in this volume, but only to give a brief indication of its contents and character. His citations from the hitherto unpublished correspondence of the Colonial governors are curious and instructive, as they show who first conceived the plan of obtaining a fixed revenue from America, through a general system of taxation by parliamentary authority. The royal prerogative being found insufficient to effect this object, even the crown lawyers declaring that it could not be lawfully stretched to this end, these disappointed functionaries, smarting under the privation of their salaries, suggested that the omnipotence of Parliament, which no Englishman ever thought of denying, would furnish a remedy for the evil, and prevent the royal authority from falling into decay, and the royal officers into contempt. Clinton and Shirley, the governors of New York and Massachusetts, represented to the ministry, that the officers of the crown in America must be rendered independent of the Colonial assemblies, or they could not do their duty to the king; that for this purpose, a fixed revenue was indispensable; and "the most prudent method" of obtaining it "would be by application to parliament." The ministers, with the exception of the young Earl of Halifax, then serving as First Commissioner for the Plantations, do not seem at first to have paid much heed to these representations, probably because they detected the interested motives of those who made them. But the suggestions remained on file in the archives of the Board of Trade, to be brought forth and reduced to practice by the first rash minister, who, like George Grenville, released from the trouble and anxiety of a great war raging in both hemispheres, and pressed by the necessity of finding ways and means for the mountain of debt which has always been the price of England's glory, should think of opening a new and copious source of revenue in the vast colonial possessions which had just been vindicated and enlarged by the sword. How long the system would have remained untried but for the selfish representations of those who had so strong a personal interest in urging it, it were vain to conjecture. Probably not long, however; the want was too urgent, the temptation afforded by the rapid growth of colonial prosperity was too obvious and flattering. But Mr. Bancroft has not succeeded in

convincing us, that the plan was seriously entertained by the British ministry before the close of the war. Such evidence as he has been able to obtain is well summed up in the following paragraph, which is introduced while speaking of the preparations for Braddock's campaign, in 1755.

"I have had in my hands vast masses of correspondence, including letters from servants of the crown in every royal colony in America; from civilians, as well as from Braddock, and Dunbar, and Gage; from the popular Delancey and the moderate Sharpe, as well as from Dinwiddie and Shirley; and all were of the same tenor. The British ministry heard one general clamor from men in office for taxation by act of parliament. Even men of liberal tendencies looked to acts of English authority for aid. 'I hope that Lord Halifax's plan may be good and take place,' said Alexander, of New York. Hopkins, governor of Rhode Island, elected by the people, complained of the men 'who seemed to love and understand liberty better than public good and the affairs of state.' 'Little dependence,' said he, 'can be had on voluntary union.' 'In an act of parliament for a general fund,' wrote Shirley, 'I have great reason to think the people will readily acquiesce.'"

In this volume, as well as in the earlier portion of the work, Mr. Bancroft has devoted much space to an elaborate discussion of topics which have but a slender connection with the principal subject of his history. One whole chapter, the twelfth, is given to the progress of the Seven Years' War in Germany, the period selected being one that comprises the most brilliant victories of Frederic, while the subsequent portion of the struggle on the Continent, less marked with striking events, is passed over with little notice. In another chapter, the seventeenth, we have the whole story of the early policy of George III., the intrigues of Bute, and the withdrawal or expulsion of Pitt from the ministry in 1761, American affairs being hardly mentioned. In other portions of the volume, the history of parties in the English ministry is given with some minuteness, and the characters of the leading English statesmen are sketched with considerable vigor and discrimination. Perhaps we ought not to complain of these digressions; they give greater interest to the book as a work of art, by enlarging its scope, and bringing forward a variety of incidents and characters, with which the comparative meagre annals of America at this period may be embroidered. But they amount to a tacit confession that the subject which the historian has chosen is not broad enough for the full exercise of his powers. Mr. Bancroft likes to expatiate on a boundless theme, passing swiftly from one portion of it to another; here presenting a striking event, and there portraying a brilliant character, and coloring the whole with the glare of ambitious rhetoric and a somewhat overstrained republican philosophy. Perhaps the whole work may be best

characterized by a remark orginally applied, we believe, to Napier's History of the War in Spain, that it is "very great, and very odd."

We cannot quite go along with our author in his estimate of the politics of Europe at this epoch, and of the merits of some of the leading personages who were then upon the stage. Frederic the Great, in particular, is elevated by him to a post which we believe that monarch himself was wholly unconscious of occupying, — that of the champion of "Protestantism, philosophic freedom, and the nascent democracy, in their struggle with the conspiracy of European prejudice and legitimacy, of priestcraft and despotism." We cannot admit that the Seven Years' War in Germany was a religious war, or that Austria and France embarked in it for the sake of advancing the power of Catholicism, and protecting "the superstitions of the Middle Age" against the advancing spirit of democracy, free opinion, and reform. Such a purpose would not be a very laudable one; but their actual motives were more criminal, and at the same time, more petty and selfish. Austria was eager to avenge the loss of Silesia by humiliating the sovereign who had robbed her of it; and for that purpose, the haughty Maria Theresa stooped to flatter and cajole the base courtesan who then held the destinies of France in her hands. On the other hand, Frederic had treated Madame de Pompadour with contempt, and even pelted her with stinging epigrams, — not because he had any reverence for virtue, his own life and character being stained with every form of turpitude, but because he had intellect enough to despise the base means and instruments of vice, even while he caused them to minister to his caprices. The two women, an Empress of unsullied fame and a shameless harlot, succeeded in forming what Chatham called "the most powerful and malignant confederacy that ever yet has threatened the independence of mankind;" they induced Russia, Sweden, and Saxony, — three powers which were certainly not very desirous of promoting the cause of Catholicism, — to join them, under a promise of sharing the spoils. Frederic, whose only object was to preserve intact the dominions which he had inherited and those which he had treacherously and without a color of right annexed to them, succeeded in baffling and defeating all his enemies, and the confederacy terminated in humiliation, as it had begun in dishonor. All the rhetoric of the historian cannot give dignity to such a meaningless and fruitless contest; Frederic showed marvellous qualities as a tactician and a diplomatist, but we cannot make a hero of him. As an ally of England against France, his merits have been sufficiently trumpeted by English writers; we do not see that Americans are called upon to join in the commendation.

The most interesting chapter in this volume is devoted to a general account of the condition of the "Old Thirteen" Colonies, at the time when Franklin formed the project of uniting them under one government, just before the outbreak of the war. This is a broad and vigorous sketch, drawn perhaps with too much freedom of pencil and depth of coloring, but generally truthful and always impressive. We annex, in conclusion, an extract from it, which is a fair specimen both of the beauties and faults of Mr. Bancroft's style.

"New York had been settled under large patents of lands to individuals; New England under grants to towns; and the institution of towns was its glory and its strength. The inhabited part of Massachusetts was recognized as divided into little territories, each of which, for its internal purposes, constituted a separate integral government, free from supervision, having power to choose annually its own officers; to hold meetings of all freemen at its own pleasure; to discuss in those meetings any subject of public interest; to see that every able-bodied man within its precincts was duly enrolled in the militia and always provided with arms, ready for immediate use; to elect and to instruct its representatives; to raise and appropriate money for the support of the ministry, of schools, of highways, of the poor, and for defraying other necessary expenses within the town. It was incessantly deplored by royalists of later days, that the law which confirmed these liberties had received the unconscious sanction of William the Third, and the most extensive interpretation in practice. Boston, even, on more than one occasion, ventured in town meeting to appoint its own agent to present a remonstrance to the Board of Trade. New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Maine, which was a part of Massachusetts, had similar regulations; so that all New England was an aggregate of organized democracies. But the complete development of the institution was to be found in Connecticut and the Massachusetts Bay. There each township was also substantially a territorial parish; the town was the religious congregation; the independent church was established by law; the minister was elected by the people, who annually made grants for his support. There, too, the system of free schools was carried to great perfection; so that there could not be found a person born in New England unable to write and read. He that will understand the political character of New England in the eighteenth century, must study the constitution of its towns, its congregations, its schools, and its militia.

"Yet in these democracies the hope of independence, as a near event, had not dawned. Driven from England by the persecution of the government, its inhabitants still clung with confidence and persevering affection to the land of their ancestry, the people of their kindred, and the nationality of their language. They were of homogeneous origin, nearly all tracing their descent to English emigrants of the reigns of Charles the First and Charles the Second. They were a frugal and industrious race. Along the seaside, wherever there was a good harbor, fishermen, familiar with the ocean, gathered in hamlets; and each returning season saw them with an ever increasing number of mariners and vessels, taking the cod and mackerel, and sometimes pursuing the

whale into the icy labyrinths of the Northern seas; yet loving home, and dearly attached to their modest freeholds. At Boston a society was formed for promoting domestic manufactures: on one of its anniversaries, three hundred young women appeared on the common, clad in homespun, seated in a triple row, each with a spinning-wheel, and each busily transferring the flax from the distaff to the spool. The town built 'a manufacturing house,' and there were bounties to encourage the workers in linen. How the Board of Trade were alarmed at the news! How they censured Shirley for not having frowned on the business! How committees of the House of Commons examined witnesses, and made proposals for prohibitory laws, till at last the Boston manufacturing house, designed to foster home industry, fell into decay, a commentary on the provident care of England for her colonies! Of slavery there was not enough to affect the character of the people, except in the southeast of Rhode Island, where Newport was conspicuous for engaging in the slave-trade, and where, in two or three towns, negroes composed even a third of the inhabitants.

"In the settlements which grew up in the interior, on the margin of the greenwood, the plain meeting-house of the congregation for public worship was everywhere the central point; near it stood the public school, by the side of the very broad road, over which wheels enough did not pass to do more than mark the path by ribbons in the sward. The snug farm-houses, owned as freeholds, without quitrents, were dotted along the way; and the village pastor among his people, enjoying the calm raptures of devotion, 'appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year, low and humble on the ground, standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of the flowers round about; all, in like manner, opening their bosoms to drink in the light of the sun.' In every hand was the Bible; every home was a house of prayer; in every village all had been taught, many had comprehended, a methodical theory of the divine purpose in creation, and of the destiny of man.

"Child of the Reformation, closely connected with the past centuries and with the greatest intellectual struggles of mankind, New England had been planted by enthusiasts who feared no sovereign but God. In the universal degeneracy and ruin of the Roman world, when freedom, laws, imperial rule, municipal authority, social institutions, were swept away, — when not a province, nor city, nor village, nor family was safe, Augustin, the African bishop, with a burning heart, confident that, though Rome tottered, the hope of man would endure, rescued from the wreck of the old world the truths that would renew humanity, and sheltered them in the cloister, among successive generations of men, who were insulated by their vows from decaying society, bound to the state neither by ambition, nor by allegiance, nor by the sweet attractions of wife and child.

"After the sighs and sorrows of centuries, in the dawn of serener days, an Augustine monk, having also a heart of flame, seized on the same great ideas, and he and his followers, with wives and children, restored them to the world. At his bidding, truth leaped over the cloister walls, and challenged every man to make her his guest; aroused every intelligence to acts of private judgment; changed a dependent, recipient people into a reflecting, inquiring people; lifted each human

being out of the castes of the Middle Age, to endow him with individuality, and summoned man to stand forth as man. The world heaved with the fervent conflict of opinion. The people and their guides recognized the dignity of labor; the oppressed peasantry took up arms for liberty; men reverenced and exercised the freedom of the soul. The breath of the new spirit moved over the earth; it revived Poland, animated Germany, swayed the North; and the inquisition of Spain could not silence its whispers among the mountains of the Peninsula. It invaded France; and though bonfires, by way of warning, were made of heretics, at the gates of Paris, it infused itself into the French mind, and led to unwonted free discussions. Exile could not quench it. On the banks of the Lake of Geneva, Calvin stood forth the boldest reformer of his day; not personally engaging in political intrigues, yet, by promulgating great ideas, forming the seedplot of revolution; bowing only to the Invisible; acknowledging no sacrament of ordination but the choice of the laity, no patent of nobility but that of the elect of God, with its seals of eternity."

2.—1. *Annual Report of the Progress of Chemistry and the Allied Sciences, Physics, Mineralogy, and Geology; including the Applications of Chemistry to Pharmacy, Medicine, Agriculture, the Arts, and Manufactures.* By Justus Liebig, M. D., and H. Kopp, with the Coöperation of Buff, Dieffenbach, and Others, Professors in the University of Giessen. Edited by A. W. Hoffman, Ph. D., and W. De la Rue. London: Taylor, Walton, & Maberly. 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *Annual of Scientific Discovery, or Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, for* 1852; *exhibiting the most Important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, &c.* Edited by David A. Wells, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 408.

3. *Examinations of Drugs, Medicines, Chemicals, &c., as to their Purity and Adulterations.* By C. H. Peirce, M. D., Examiner of Medicines, etc., for the Port of Boston. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1852. 12mo. pp. 264.

These reports of the development and application of chemistry and the allied sciences are a striking indication of the present popularity of scientific pursuits, of the number of laborers who are engaged in them, and of the zeal and success with which their researches are conducted. Already the first obstacle which

is encountered by one who enters the path of original investigation, is the difficulty of ascertaining the latest results of the efforts of those who have immediately preceded him in the work, both in Europe and America. The literature of science has expanded so rapidly, and the number of scientific journals has so much increased, that the student who should undertake to read the whole would have little leisure remaining for the prosecution of his independent labors. To obviate this difficulty, these summary reports are prepared, like the digests which the lawyers are compelled to make of the interminable series of publications which contain the results of the proceedings of the courts. These digests contain all that is needed for use on ordinary occasions; and if at times they are found incomplete, they furnish references to more copious sources of information. Yet if the process of development and multiplication should continue many years longer, with equal rapidity, a new means of saving labor in this department must be invented, or "the embarrassment of riches" will be likely to dishearten the laborers and cause the work to be suspended altogether. If calculations respecting the progress of science were instituted, similar to those which Malthus formed of the increase of the human species, it might appear that an application of "the preventive check" was equally necessary in both cases.

The first work upon our list, as might be expected from its large compass and the eminent names which appear upon its title-page, "aims at completeness, principally in the communication of *results*; descriptions, however, of the *methods* by means of which these results have been obtained will be by no means omitted," when the methods themselves are new, or when a knowledge of them is necessary for a full comprehension of the subject. The work is evidently prepared with great care and labor; and though its bulk and the technicality of its details will seal the volumes for general readers, they will be invaluable to the practical chemist, and highly useful to laborers in other departments of science. The publishers have done their part admirably well; the neatness and accuracy of the typography are highly creditable to them, as the number and complexity of the formulæ which are introduced must have severely exercised the taste and skill of the printer. The appendix contains a very useful series of tables, minute and seemingly accurate, for the comparison of the different systems of thermometers and other measures, and the explanation of the various symbols and equivalents which are adopted in the work.

We noticed, on a former occasion, an earlier volume of the Annual of Scientific Discovery, which is edited by Mr. Wells.

It is less elaborate and more popular than the formidable volumes of Liebig and Kopp, as it is intended not only for the special students of science, but for the far larger circle of readers who wish to know something of the daily progress, the general results, and more striking applications of scientific research, though they have not leisure or inclination to study them in detail. This Annual is admirably designed to satisfy their wants. It is a chronicle of what is attempted, as well as of what is actually performed, in the field both of discovery and invention. Many of the new processes that it records — and their name is legion — would probably fail to stand the test of farther investigation and experiment. But for a people among whom inventive genius abounds, — and the Yankees are unparalleled in this respect among all the nations of the earth, both past and present, — a full account of incomplete discoveries and abortive inventions is highly useful. It points out what is desirable to be accomplished, and erects beacons to warn the inquirer away from paths that lead in a wrong direction. And it may often suggest a solution of the difficulty which it does not directly indicate. The present volume seems quite equal to those which have gone before it in the amount of matter, in the skill with which it is arranged, and in the general fidelity with which the editor's task has been performed.

The last work on our list is very humble in its pretensions, but is, perhaps, of greater practical utility than either of the others. We have ranked it with them, because it shows so clearly that many of the curious results of chemical analysis, which may appear at first sight too refined and far-fetched to be of any advantage beyond the gratification of a liberal curiosity, are often found applicable, in some unexpected manner, to purposes of the most direct and palpable utility. Sick persons have been half-poisoned by the drugs which they have swallowed, or the medicines, at best, have failed to produce the expected effect, and all the blame has been laid upon the doctor, or upon the imperfection of medical science, when frequently the greater part of it was chargeable to the apothecary. The importation of adulterated and spurious drugs had become a great branch of traffic with those who did not set any high value upon the lives of their fellow-beings, or did not desire their speedy recovery from illness. Congress was at length induced, for a wonder, to pass *one* useful act of general legislation that had no connection with party politics, by requiring all drugs, medicines, and chemicals that were entered at the custom-house to be carefully tested by examiners appointed for the purpose, before they were allowed to be sold; and if they are found to be spurious or

adulterated, they are immediately destroyed. Dr. Peirce, a distinguished graduate of the chemical department of the Scientific School attached to Harvard College, was appointed examiner of medicines for the port of Boston; and in this little volume, he has given a "practical, simple, and concise" account of the methods and tests which he has applied in the discharge of his functions. Some of these are found to depend upon the latest refinements of chemical analysis; while others are so simple and sure that they can be used even in the sick chamber. There is no parade of chemical science in the work, which is designed only to be a manual or hand-book; and this absence of pretension is one of the surest tests by which reviewers are enabled to recognize the competency of authors and the merits either of literary or scientific productions. The book is neatly printed; and as it enables one to detect adulteration or impurity in some articles of food and substances used for domestic purposes, it may deserve a place by the side of those excellent manuals of culinary science which are found in every well-regulated household.

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3. — *The Aias of Sophocles, with Critical and Explanatory Notes.* By J. B. M. Gray. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1851. 12mo. pp. 342.

For the last fifteen or twenty years, the study of the Attic Tragedy has formed a prominent object of classical education in the United States. Some of the most useful editions, in this department of letters, have been published by American scholars. The four plays edited by President Woolsey are the most conspicuous contribution to this species of literature, which has yet been made in this country. Mr. Gray's edition of the Aias of Sophocles is a learned and valuable addition to the list. This play, though not the most excellent specimen of the dramatic art of Sophocles, is, nevertheless, to the modern student at least, one of the most interesting remaining from the ancient stage. It is less remote from common human sympathies, than the great Œdipodion Trilogy. The passions, and affections, and sorrows of common life form a larger ingredient in the materials out of which its interests are woven, than is usual with the stately and regal arguments on which the Athenian dramatists loved to dwell. The overbearing pride of Ajax is the natural source of his disasters, though the tale is clothed in the form of special divine

interposition for his punishment. The madness is the doom which the law of such natures passes upon them when the load of personal dishonor breaks them down; and suicide, the means, which by heathen ideas is sanctioned, to escape from a lot which cannot be borne, and to redeem the honor that has been lost in life. These are the sources of tragic passion; but the pathos is heightened by the picture of domestic affections presented in the tender and delicate character of Tecmessa and her sorrows. The series of tragic emotions is closed by the harmonizing and reconciling rites of burial, by which the heroic agonies are soothed to rest. The piece is thus perfectly Hellenic in spirit, and in the principles of art on which it is constructed; while it has more of those deep feelings, common to human nature everywhere, than is usual on the classic stage.

In his notes, Mr. Gray has aimed to embody the results of the many able commentaries the tragedy has called forth; and this laborious task he has accomplished with success. He has given the substance of many voluminous expositions, in a compact form; but he estimates his own part too moderately in saying that he claims nothing for himself; for he is entitled to claim many of the best notes in the work, and many of the most felicitous criticisms, as his own. One of the leading merits of this edition is the combination of erudition with the higher criticism, in the application of æsthetic principles to the structure of the play as a work of art, and the ethical estimate of its sentiments and characters.

In his anxiety to give all the views of the distinguished scholars, on whose works the editor draws, we think he has at times overdone his task. Discussions on interpretation and construction are, in some cases, extended to too great a length, by the minuteness of his citations of views which may safely be set down as untenable. To the leisurely scholar and the professed philologist, these are always instructive, and often entertaining; but for the practical use of the body of American students, such notes are of less advantage, because they will not spend the time to read them. The long examination of the second line is a case in point; of its kind, it is excellent; and yet, there can scarcely be a doubt as to the true construction and sense of the passage, although so able a scholar as Lobeck explained it in a manner to which Hermann could not yield his assent. Where the difficulties are real, and opinions differ, Mr. Gray discusses them with learning and ability, and draws his conclusions with caution and good sense; and his illustrations from parallel passages are well chosen, from a wide range of reading, and judiciously applied. The quotations of illustrations from the English

poets — the best companions to the Greek — are singularly happy. Indeed, it is our opinion that the deep sources in nature and the heart of man, from which the great poets of England have drawn, make them not only eminently classical in spirit, and very often in the literal expression, but bring them into the closest affinities with the masters of ancient Greece. Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, should always be read in company with Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, Massinger, and Milton.

In this brief notice, we have merely touched upon the main points of Mr. Gray's edition of the Aias. To illustrate each of these in detail, has not been our purpose. We leave a minute examination of its accumulated learning to the lovers of ancient poetry, who will be sure to place it among their standard books; and we sincerely commend the volume to classical teachers and students.

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Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo.

The History of Palestine from the Patriarchal Age to the Present Time; with Introductory Chapters on the Geography and Natural History of the Country, and on the Customs and Institutions of the Hebrews. By John Kitto, D. D. With 200 Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 426.

The Corner-Stone. By Jacob Abbott. Very greatly Improved and Enlarged. With Numerous Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 380.

The Catholic Offering, a Gift Book for all Seasons. Containing a Series of Pieces, in Prose and Verse, for different Parts of the Year. By the Right Rev. William Walsh, D. D., Bishop of Halifax. New York: Edward Dunigan & Brother. 1852. 12mo. pp. 550.

Putnam's Semi-Monthly Library for Travellers and for the Fireside. The World Here and There, or Notes for Travellers, from Household Words. Edited by Charles Dickens. 12mo. pp. 231. Humorous Series. Whimsicalities. By Thomas Hood. 12mo. pp. 228. Hood's Own; Selected Papers. 12mo. pp. 239. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1852.

Young Americans Abroad, or Vacation in Europe. Travels in England, France, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Switzerland. With Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 371.

The Island Home; or the Young Castaways. Edited by Christopher Romaunt, Esq. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 461.

An Elementary English Grammar, for the Use of Schools. By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S., Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Revised Edition. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1852. 12mo. pp. 236.

The Snow-Image, and Other Twice-Told Tales. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 12mo.

A History of Classical Literature. By R. W. Brown, M. A., Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Professor of Classical Literature in King's College, London. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1852. 8vo.

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Life Insurance; its Nature, Origin, and Progress. Containing Tables of Mortality, Annuities, etc. Compiled from the Best Authorities. New York: Charles B. Norton. 1852. 12mo. pp. 87.

Man and his Migrations. By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S. New York: Charles B. Norton. 1852. 12mo. pp. 261.

A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh. By Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D. C. L. Abridged by him from his Larger Work. With Numerous Wood Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 353.

Salander and the Dragon, a Romance of the Hartz Prison. By Frederic William Shelton, M. A. New York: John S. Taylor. 1852. 12mo. pp. 250.

The Antigone of Sophocles, with Notes, for the Use of Colleges in the United States. By Theodore D. Woolsey, President of Yale College. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 120.

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The Epistle of James, practically explained. By Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the German by Mrs. H. C. Conant. New York: Lewis Colby. 1852. 12mo. pp. 115.

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A Pilgrimage to Egypt, embracing a Diary of Explorations on the Nile. With Observations Illustrative of the Manners, Customs, and Institutions of the People, and of the Present Condition of the Antiquities and Ruins. By J. V. C. Smith. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 383.

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Arvine's Cyclopædia of Anecdotes of Literature and the Fine Arts; containing a Copious and Choice Selection of Anecdotes of the Various Forms of Literature and the Arts; with Numerous Illustrations. Nos. 6, 7, and 8. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 8vo.

Address delivered before the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts, at the opening of the Fourth Annual Exhibition, October 21st, 1851. By the Hon. John P. Kennedy. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1851. 8vo. pp. 29.

Letters on Irish Emigration, first published in the Boston Daily Advertiser. By Edward E. Hale. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 64.

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London Labor and the London Poor. By Henry Mayhew. With Daguerreotype Engravings, taken by Beard. Part 16. New York: Harpers. 1852. 8vo.

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